Henri Lefebvre and Finnish Football:
A Humanist, Critical, and Urban Dialectic for Sport

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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract

This thesis has two intertwined goals: to articulate a coherent approach to sport loyal to Lefebvre's philosophy using the concrete case of Finnish football, and so to point possible paths for improving Finnish football using Lefebvrian theory. Based in the 'Third Wave' of Lefebvrian scholarship, I explore the humanism, critique, and urbanism in his physical, mental, and lived dialectic. I engage with the influences of Heidegger, Nietzsche, Hegel, and, most prominently, Marx on his expansive oeuvre and the arising concepts of: totality and the residuality of everyday life held together in a collective subjectivity; globalisation and the neoliberal and neomanagerial strategies of the state; metaphilosophy, transformative praxis, the bodily truth of poietic creativity, and mimetic repetition (as not always an empty copy); time, its moments, and its linear and cyclical rhythms; alienation and the romantic revolution against the fetishised concrete abstractions of the exchange value, ideologies (with a more inclusive definition of ideology than in which Lefebvre has usually been understood), and space, as well as the latter's reimagining in utopias. Using these concepts, I describe some features of Finnish football and critically uncover problems in it. Beyond my own experiences, especially coaching, I describe the general capitalist mode of Finnish football under globalisation and the neoliberal and neomanagerial strategies of the Finnish national and municipal governments and sports associations (the democracy of the new Finnish Football Federation's structure remains to be seen). I explore the alienation arising from the abstractions of the game by the federation-run 'skill competitions', the logic of the exchange value, and from both sides of the ideological clash between sport as achievement and the sport-for-all *Kaikki Pelaa* (Everybody Plays) programme. I set the task for all people involved in football to live a new praxis and imagine the possible futures of a disalienated game.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords
Lefebvre, Sport, Dialectic, Humanism, Critique, Urban, Totality, Metaphilosophy, Alienation

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ABBREVIATIONS OF KEY CITED WORKS BY LEFEBVRE

CELi	–	Critique of Everyday Life I: An Introduction (1991 [1947, 2nd ed. 1958])
CELii	–	Critique of Everyday Life II: Foundations for a Sociology of the Everyday (2002 [1961])
CELiii	–	Critique of Everyday Life III: From Modernity to Modernism (Towards a Metaphilosophy of Daily Life) (2005 [1981])
DM	–	Dialectical Materialism (2009 [1940])
EE	–	The Everyday and Everydayness (1987)
ELMW	–	Everyday Life in the Modern World (1971 [1968])
IM	–	Introduction to Modernity: Twelve Preludes – September 1959 – May 1961 (1995 [1962])
M	–	Metaphilosophy (2016 [1965])
OtS	–	On the State (*De l'État*) I-IV (1976-78)
PoS	–	Production of Space (1991 [1974])
R	–	Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life (2004 – anthology)
RR	–	Revolutionary Romanticism (2012 [1957])
SoC	–	The Survival of Capitalism: Reproduction of the Relations of Production (1976 [1973])
SoM	–	The Sociology of Marx (1982 [1966])
SSW	–	State, Space, World: Selected Essays (2009 – anthology)
TAE	–	Toward and Architecture of Enjoyment (2014 – published posthumously)
UR	–	The Urban Revolution (2003 [1970])
WoC	–	Writings on Cities (1996 – anthology)

*'Starting Whistle' (***Alkuvihellys***)*

Billions of players, hobbyists, supporters, spectators, cannot be wrong: football is the king of sports.

Why is football such a success story? The most straightforward answer is to say that football can maintain and increase its popularity because it is widely popular. Unlike in the elite sports of the alpines or golf, football can be played with simple tools in varying landscapes and climates – as well on English grass fields as on the stone courtyards of Rome or Rio's beach.

The prevalent historical, cultural and social explanations of the sport can tell important things in themselves, but every football fan knows that they do not adequately get into the heart of things. They do not tell you the real intricacies of football. What is this game's 'juju' that made it the object of the passion of billions of fans in the first place?

Football's charm can be approached initially through the player's own experiences. On the technical side of football, you can in theory hone without limit your own individual skill, which includes control of the ball with both feet, kicks, curling shots, first touches, headers, dribbles and feints. Much as the ball is famously round, the cooperation/coordination of the head and the feet while keeping the hands in check provides a wealth of opportunities for flexible control of the body. The feeling of your own artistry and the related experiences of success are common to the conduct of many 'modern projects' such as sports and music, art and science. Success in difficult places brings pleasure to the creator, amazing banana kicks, shimmies, pass interceptions and saves from shots.

Football's greatness as an art form is the way in which the team operates as a single agent. Patterns may arise from repeated exercise organised by the coach, but their penetration also requires the ability of the group to understand a wordless dialogue. The ball-carrying player and others must be able to find their own position in the best possible way. The spectacular compositions of attack and defence ensue when the whole team is together on the field. To the player, these situations give a social of experience of cohesion, which can be experienced together in the team through trials of major mistakes and campaigns. To the spectator, the team's compositions provide aesthetic experiences. In this respect, football resembles chess and its aesthetic: the attack and its resulting goal are 'beautiful', arousing admiration and delight. The entire beauty of the game again concerns how well matched the teams are, the variance and excitement of the situations, and the creativity and determination of the solutions.

The football match is a drama, whose script has not been written in advance. Each match is its own entity, whose flow is not predetermined. The score may be clear, but the match may also end in the wracked nerves of sudden death or a penalty shootout. This indeterminism's defiance of the belief in fate guarantees the spectator more excitement, because it leaves open countless options and unexpected outcomes.

Existential philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre used football as a metaphor for life. Players are born at kick off and die at the final whistle. Between these extreme points they go through a series of free choices, which include joy and despair, success and misfortune, play and hard work, intelligence and endeavour. When the next game's alkuvihellys *is heard from the referee's whistle, the situation on the field and in the stand electrifies. The players awaken and breathe a new life again, and the spectators are caught up as they live the enchantment*

Ilkka Niiniluoto
Former Rector of the University of Helsinki
Translated Excerpts of the Foreword to *Fields of the King of Games* (Kuningaspelin Kentät), 2008

1. INTRODUCTION

Finnish football is strange. Not just because, in 'Father Christmas land' (Itkonen and Nevala 2012), people still play outside at fifteen degrees below freezing. Its absurdity is found in the clashes of ideologies competing in a game that denies its players the total expression of their creative power, alienating them from the full potential of their humanity. This game (a metaphor for each football match, for the myriad fields of social activity of and around each match, for society itself) is a dialectical battle of opposites that defines and produces space, time, and our everyday lives. The score? Despite Atletico Malmi, Jari Litmanen, and all the positivity and Niiniluoto's enchantment that can be found on football pitches throughout the country, there is something of a national malaise about the game, even as the men's national team qualified for the 2020 European Championships, its first major tournament. Football, according to ex-international-player-turned-writer Antti Pohja, is a 'joke' of everyday Finnish life (2016). There certainly is an irony in the tragedy of young players quitting the game because of its tendencies towards a talent factory of elite athlete production (Salasuo and Berg 2018) while the men's national team touches the depths of 110th in the FIFA world rankings and the former chairman of the men's premier league explains that the game needs a massive step up in competition (Lehtinen 2017). It is hard not to respond with some incredulity when faced with the fact that eight years ago, in order to train and play, the average 11-14 year old recreational footballer was forced to source €2,903 a year (Puronaho 2014, 31) from parents, the social services, the church, charity, or elsewhere – a far cry from the 'jumpers for goalposts' notion of football's easy access. The youth coach 'exhausted' by unmotivated players and difficult parents could tell stories at which, with perspective, they can only laugh (Anon. 2018).

Funny and not, there are problems in Finnish football. Yet with parents of ice hockey players paying upwards of €7000, and indeed horse riders €10000, we are reminded that these problems are not exclusive to some category 'Finnish football', but are problems that can be seen in other sports, and, anyway, in society itself. I do not argue that the field of activity of sport or that any of its components (e.g. the sports club) is a 'mirror of society'. That is, one which may affect sport policy but otherwise passively reflects the 'more urbanised, pluralistic, individualised and market-driven competitive society' of modern Finland (Koski 2012, 257). Instead, the Finnish sports club, football player, artificial grass pitch – Finnish sport – are themselves vital parts of

modern Finland. Atletico Malmi, the north Helsinki amateur men's team that I used to coach, is a constitutive part of society, as are each of the players and the home field Puksu. The field is not a passive container, but a product of our collective actions that in turn reproduces these relations. Each player also, when the whistle goes and he fights for the team is not some powerless being, but creates society as we know it with the capacity to become a champion of what he, the footballer, and it, our society, should stand for. The point: descriptions of our society, of its pluralism, market-based competition, or otherwise, can only be accurate (or indeed relevant) inasmuch as these concepts are incarnate in the activity that takes place in our society, rather than as somehow separate from the activities which it encompasses. Society is 'a whole, the totality of human efforts' (*SoM*, 23). We all play our part in making it, collectively through our connection by the social, grounded in everyday life. A process that affects the indivisible totality has a relation to all its parts, each of which expresses this whole. Totality is not some subsuming monolith: difference abounds between and within sports just as within wider society. From society to sport, down to the concrete case: of Finnish football – the *kuningaspeli* – the king of games. And then back up again. The singularities of the Finnish game make up its particularities, which is at the same time controlled by its generality, giving definition to the universal.

1.1. LEFEBVRIAN DIALECTICS

Approaching totality, alongside and through this strange game of Finnish football, this thesis is the outcome of my eight-year engagement, often trying, sometimes glorious, always 'troubled' (Schmid 2014), engagement with the notorious sociologist, philosopher, Henri Lefebvre, the French 'father of the dialectic' (Shields 1999, 109). Lefebvre's dialectic used to explain and change society as a whole, can help us to ask useful questions about sport, an important field of social activity under growing stress in the modern world. Lefebvre's *humanist*, *critical*, and *urban* faces refer in essence to man, dominated in modern society. How do we express our humanity and resist oppression and domination, fulfilling our right to the city and living our lives together to the full? Our everyday life in today's world: 'colonised by capitalism', and also suffering from other homogenising, fragmentary, hierarchising forces, like those of racism, sexism, homophobia, nationalism, and all discriminations of humanity that belie the indeterminacy of its collective potential. The Lefebvrian dialectic gives us access to answers with meaning, shining a light on these problems and

contradictions, alienation in our everyday lives; and action, the full implication of which would radically democratise and humanise society.

Lefebvre's *dialectic* – the logic of overcoming the contradictions that pervade society – is the central axis of practice, theory, and experience in his move beyond philosophy, 'the thread that runs through his prolific and thematically varied output over several decades' (Charnock 2014, 2), and itself the key term in the title of this thesis, describing my approach to sport as society. In this game, in society, the dialectic battle of opposites is the key prism: social problems refer to tensions in the dialectical relationship, but at the same time, the solutions are within those same tensions, in anticipation of the chance to break the block in the contradiction. Dialectical theory claims that the social totality can only be comprehended and changed through an understanding and processing – sublation – of these contradictions: positing the contradiction as opposing terms and engaging them against each other, overcoming their conflict through the emergence of a third term. Marx's materialist dialectic of class struggle – labour against capital, the physical resisting the dominance of the mental, of 'use value's' submission to 'exchange value' – is just as foundational in dialectical thought as the Hegelian idealistic conception of negation and sublation (being-nothingness-becoming in a syllogistic structure of thesis-antithesis-synthesis) that Marx had stood on its feet. Marxist dialectics has maintained a strong presence in the mainstream of Anglophone urban studies (e.g. Harvey 1973; Smith 1984), in particular with its critique of neoliberalism (today's dominant capitalist ideology) and the dialectic of commodification; i.e. the contradiction between buying, selling, or otherwise ascribing a monetary or market value to something (*exchange* value), as opposed to it just satisfying human needs (*use* value).

Lefebvre's 'highly original version' of the dialectic (Schmid 2008, 31) has been applied across a wide range of different academic disciplines and spheres of social activity. The key novelty of his contribution to dialectical theory is his humanist interpretation of Marxist materialism and Hegelian idealism. Marx's critique of Hegel is the 'unavoidable, necessary, but insufficient starting point' and 'it is now a matter of transforming it' (Lefebvre and Kolakowski 1974, 205), through an affinity with Nietzschean humanism and flirtations with Heideggerian phenomenology. Thus Lefebvre arrives at the trio of *physical* and *mental* (from Marx and Hegel) and the poetically *lived* (Nietzsche and Heidegger). From these, he spells out a relational ontology, with each of these three dimensions or 'moments' interacting dialectically, spurred by lived poetic 'creation', and reaching

out toward the possibility of phenomenological 'becoming' or fluid being (see Figure 1). Wary of Schmid's warning that plenty of Lefebvre scholars better than me have struggled with his dialectic, I reconstruct this dialectic within the context of sport. That is, I explain the Lefebvrian dialectic by applying its concepts and practices to the field of activity that is sport, and in particular Finnish football.

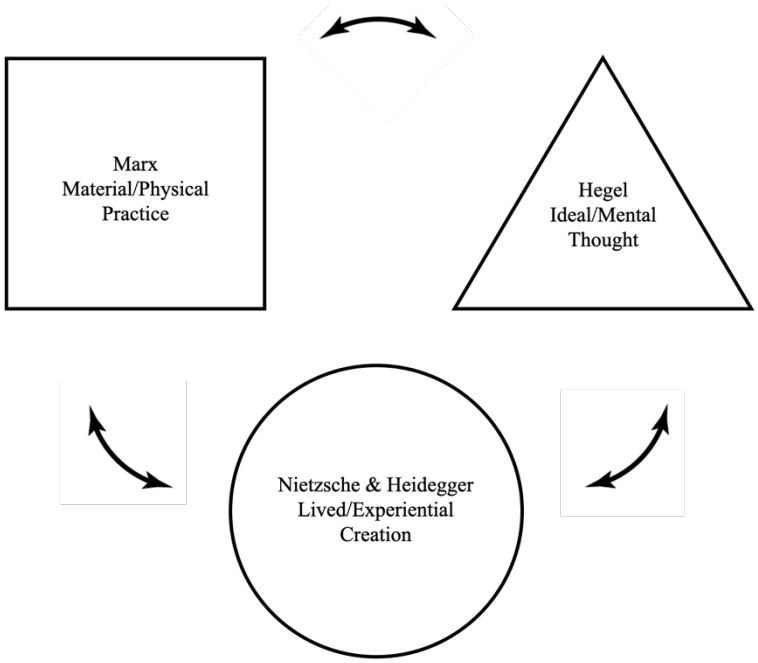

Figure 1. *Initial Representation of the Lefebvrian Dialectic*

1.2. THESIS PROJECT

My first goal is thus to articulate and justify a coherent and loyal Lefebvrian approach towards understanding sport (and society), and in this way open up to its possible future. I attempt contact with his oeuvre as a whole, including its core philosophical foundations as well as the now extensive interpretation in the still fast-expanding literature on Lefebvre. Crystallising a central tenet of this oeuvre, of the dialectic itself: all that exists for us is experiencing the concrete abstract *(cf. DM*, 76). Sport is not just a concept, but our engagement with that concept and its practical instantiations, like playing the *kuningaspeli* or coaching Atletico Malmi on a Saturday afternoon at Puksu. Any theoretical application must be tethered to the ground, in practice, engaging with everyday life. So one role that the kuningaspeli plays in my argument is as the concrete (real, physical, not necessarily opaque) window through which I reconstruct this Lefebvrian approach to sport as a physical, mental, lived example of everyday life and metaphor of society.

My reconstruction of Lefebvrian theory is thus partly as a means to an end: the ultimate goal is to change Finnish football, society, for the better. Overcoming opposites requires the critique of their contradiction. We must expose the problems haunting the game – the contradictions and absurdities that I identify as tensions in the dialectical relationships which constitute Finnish football. Tensions caused by dogmatic, abstracted ideology that is not just an abstract dimension but whose abstract dimension veers toward separating from and thus overwhelming concrete experience. When we properly identify dogma as such, we also imagine a world in which it does not exist. The radical nature of the Lefebvrian critique bridges the gap between theory and practice and means that through pursuit of that dream, we shall have already begun banishing the dogmatic ghosts of abstract ideologies. This thesis is therefore a description of Finnish football and its problems, drawn through the Lefebvrian explanation of how to understand and overcome them (the dialectic).

Lefebvre has been haunting me for almost eight years, despite warnings and advice from my supervisors, friends, colleagues, and family. I have dived headlong into his extensive oeuvre and the rapidly expanding English language scholarship on it. At the same time as going further into seemingly every newly found rabbit hole – in Lefebvre's own writing or the work of a newly found theorist, researcher, or indeed activist – I have rarely been able to produce a consistent period of focus on producing a final text for submission, distracted as I am; by coaching football, by the sports science and data analytics company, Kvantia, that I co-founded five years ago (after a failed venture in hosting an international conference on football), by my engagement with Finland, its language, and its social life (the classes and parties of the university, the bars and gutters of North Helsinki, and the daily interactions with strangers and my girlfriend), and by my own laziness and lack of application. Everyone who has done research can talk about these conflicts of time between being a researcher and living the rest of your life – interesting examples of Lefebvrian arrhythmia – no less complicated when that which occupies the rest of my life (football in Finland, more or less) is the subject of my research. These arrhythmic contradictions have marked my progress in completing a thesis with eight different essays involving Lefebvre and they have halted this thesis in the diverted focus and missed development of the aftermath of such false starts grasping a Lefebvrian research programme. One advantage of this approach, however, has been to give me a reasonably broad perspective of the diverse theory, research, and other practice associated with him,

although not even the Merrifields, Schmids, Goonewardenas, or Eldens of Lefebvrian scholarship would claim to have a comprehensive picture of him. Thus one challenge of completing this thesis has been to limit the scope of this whole enterprise, for there is always another interesting rabbit hole. Alternatively, in the well-known conflicts of the real world, with deadlines, careers, and page limits, something has to give. I do not intend to provide excuses; rather to appeal to the personal nature of research as life, as well as its practicality. Ultimately, it introduces the personal nature of the two core thrusts of this thesis and their respective challenges: of drawing Lefebvrian concepts together usefully and explaining the social problems of Finnish football in such a way as to help solve them.

The next two chapters deal with the background and theoretical framework of this thesis, exploring the key terms of the title – humanism, critique, and the urban – in the contexts of, first, Lefebvre, and second, sport and the social sciences. In the chapter on Lefebvre I also unpack the concept of dialectics, while in the chapter on sport and the social sciences I briefly outline the setting of Finnish football before justifying sport as a subject of social scientific study. The fourth chapter details my goals and research questions, engages with the combination of theory, practice, and experience – the research project – that I have lived for this thesis, before sketching the ways in which I answer these questions. The following three chapters comprise the main body of this thesis, each one consisting of my exploration and application of a core Lefebvrian concept to Finnish football: totality, metaphilosophy, and alienation. In the concluding chapter I summarise and reflect on the process I have followed and suggest ways for Lefebvrians and people of sport to proceed, imagining a possible future.

2. LEFEBVRIAN FRAMEWORK

2.1. LIFE AND WORKS

It is difficult not to feel some sense of awe at, if nothing else, the sheer size of Henri Lefebvre's bigger than life, which bore witness to (and a critique of) the vast changes in society between 1901 and 1991. Not just the quantities (ninety years, seventy-two books, 200 articles, and how many wives and girlfriends?), but the qualitative force with which he created the *jouissance* of his existence, living his life lucidly as a work of art (Hess 1988, 37). Lefebvrian scholars have struggled, or perhaps enjoyed, describing this scale: 'the adventure of the century' (Hess 1988), 'an epic drama' (Gromark 1999, 8), 'biblical' (Alvarez 2007, 51), simply 'extraordinary' (Elden 2004a, 1). Andy Merrifield refers to the Middle Age monk Francois Rabelais, whose 'literary and philosophical edifice based on wine and eating, carnivals and laughter' influenced Lefebvre, to explain the *excessiveness* of his life (Merrifield 2006, 15). Like the drunk at the bar, Lefebvre's life was one of talking loudly, passionately, meanderingly, repetitively, self-contradictorily, and always in search of (even claiming to have found) the solutions to the problems of the world today. Unlike the drunk at the bar (we shall never know what we have missed), Lefebvre's fleeting thoughts have now been heard the world over, used across a breadth and vibrancy of academic research that ignores disciplinary boundaries, and are lived out in activist struggles on a daily basis.

This chapter introduces the life of this character and something of his exceptional contribution to debate and action across diverse spheres of society, for whom 'his work was his life… always theoretically informed and politically engaged. To divorce his work from either of these aspects is to do him a great disservice: his political edge is blunted and his philosophical complexity denied.' (Elden 2004a, 2 & 6–7). Lefebvre 'seemed to reinvent himself, conceive a new sound, probe a new idea, reach a new note, almost every decade. Each reinvention built on an already accomplished body of work, yet took it further, propelled it onward' (Merrifield 2006, xxi) in its '"approximation – a reformulation and development – of certain key themes' (Soja 1996, 38), even if at the same time the context, the 'temporal sequencing and spacing' of conceptual development and lines of argument varies (Kofman and Lebas 1996, 3–4). It is something of a central tenet of 'third wave' Lefebvrian research to which I subscribe (as against the, first, political economic and, second, postmodern philosophical renderings of earlier anglophone Lefebvrian research) to recognise the depth of his whole oeuvre and engage with the implications of bringing

its seemingly disparate, even at first glance (and often second) contradictory, components together. This is a challenge, for 'rarely do we get a straight answer, rarely does he want to systematise himself, explain his thought in a way that cuts it up, that boxes it off' (Merrifield 2015). Indeed, a broad rejection of systematisation and structure, categorisation and classification, characterises not just his writings and engagement with academia, but his understanding of the social world itself: a rich expression of our diversity and potential under attack by systematisations in the modern world.

The titles of some of these texts alone give a picture of the scope of his revolutionary project. He worked to bring about radical change, 'a transformation of everyday life' (Lefebvre *passim*) in order to overcome the alienation of our social existence (as he describes most emphatically throughout his *Critique of Everyday Life* trilogy); in particular the abstract existence of our *Everyday Life in the Modern World*, an era dominated by capitalist ideology. Our daily experience is the base level of the totality, of our social reality, of the connected processes involved in society's creation and production of space and time, as outlined, for example, in the seminal work *The Production of Space* and the posthumously published *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time, Everyday Life*. The alienation of this daily experience is *The Mystified Consciousness,* requiring us to move *Towards a Revolutionary Romanticism*. While everyday life subsumes geography (it is a level of reality, rather than the disciplined study of particular aspects of, centrally, space), the spatial dimension of alienation and abstraction is nevertheless key, requiring us to follow the call to a new *Right to the City*, begin the *Urban Revolution*, and turn *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*. To make this call, Lefebvre brings together influences from *Nietzsche*, *Hegel, selected pieces*, and *The Sociology of Marx* (especially of his earlier humanism in the *1844 Philosophical and Economic Manuscripts*, which Lefebvre had translated to French, rocking the scientist socialist boat) to develop his open theory of a humanist *Dialectical Materialism*. This merger of *Nietzsche Hegel Marx or a kingdom of shadows* was a massive and controversial step in Marxist theory opposed to the scientist dominance *On the State* in current socialism as much as capitalism, and requiring us to move *Beyond Structuralism*, towards perhaps more of a *Differentialist Manifesto* than an orthodox communist one. Underlying this dialectical method to enact, perform, play a radical critique of society is certainly not a philosophical system, not even a philosophy, but a challenge to a broken system of philosophy, whose understanding of society is less than that of art. Instead, a *Metaphilosophy*, a 'critical conscience' *of Daily Life*.

2.2. CORE LEFEBVRIAN CONCEPTS

A more extensive exploration of how these works fit in the broader context of Lefebvre's exciting life is nevertheless beyond the remit of this thesis[1]. Lefebvre's open Marxism sees his theory as a 'movement' and not a 'state', involving going from the start and including the early works. Also, as Elden describes, 'Lefebvre needs to be understood both within a Marxist tradition, but also beyond that' (2004a, 65). Marxism is not 'not a system or dogma' but the 'reference', a 'starting point' but nevertheless one that is 'indispensable for understanding the present-day world' and 'unavoidable, necessary, but insufficient', such that 'it is now a matter of transforming' the theory; the 'basic concepts have to be elaborated, refined, and complemented by other concepts where necessary' (cf. e.g. *SoM*, 188; Lefebvre and Kolakowski 1974, 205; Lefebvre 1988, 77 quoted in ; e.g. Elden 2004a, 337; Charnock 2010, 1287). Lefebvre not only updates the era of capitalism in focus, but gives theory new concepts, a flexibility, and a renewed grounded applicability to make it a 'Marx for our time' (Gottdiener 1993). I focus now on the core themes of *humanism*, *critique*, and the *urban* that I have identified as informing the Lefebvrian dialectic and transformation of Marx, captured by his call: 'to reach out towards a new humanism, a new praxis, another man, that of urban society' (*WoC*, 150). Here I pay more attention to their foundations in Lefebvre's appropriations of and engagements with earlier thought, leaving to the main body of this thesis the full explanation of the implications to the dialectic of such a mix of concepts. As given by Lefebvre's inclusive approach, the key is not in the separation of these concepts, but their relationship. Lefebvre's humanism refers to the creation of critique, or its death, to the centrality of man, powerful in his creation of Nietzschean poetry, and meanwhile dwelling, inhabiting the everyday world in a phenomenological reaching out towards becoming owing much to Heidegger. The qualitative richness of asserting lived experience is at the core of the romantic revolution against the alienation that estranges us from our creative humanity. The importance of Marx's humanist conception of alienation underlies his critique of fetishised abstractions. 'Lefebvre is not trying to inject humanism as speculative idealism into Marxism, but trying to draw out the humanism implicit in Marx's works. This humanism is not abstract and mystified, but concrete, in

[1] Sources for a biographical account can be found (not least) in Lefebvre's autobiographical musings in his books and a few published interviews, supported by the secondary English language literature, especially those three open-angled books of very different character (Elden 2004a; Merrifield 2006; Shields 1999), a number of prefaces, forewords, afterwords, and other contextual pieces (Kipfer 2009; Kofman and Lebas 1996; Smith 2003; Trebitsch 1991; 2002; 2005).

that it is in a constant relation with materialism' (Elden 2004a, 21). Thus the second concept, critique, refers to his reworked Marxist and Hegelian foundations retied to action and experience through social praxis. An orthodox Marxist approach would give us a narrow focus on capital's historically specific (modern) fetishistic abstractions of the material world, like commodities, money, and capital, but within a language of the very economy it was supposed to be critiquing and so given vocabulary of structures and numbers rather than people – Lefebvre was against scientist reduction, and was instead an open everyday materialist, who found synergy between his and young Marx's humanism and the fetishised concrete abstractions, like the commodity, money, and capital, that dominate the world and dominated Marx's later writings. The third, the urban, refers to the prime site of this alienation and abstraction, giving concrete expression to humanism and critique, through the ever increasing productive stock of the city, a mimetic automaton, that reproduces nature in the centrality of the social production of space. This dialectical process is dominated by abstract space, but brings together everything: the urban is also as the prime site of overcoming abstraction through our humanist lived experiences of imagined cities of differential and inclusive spatialities made into a concrete critique – nothing less than our appropriated creations of utopia.

2.2.1. Dialectics

I outlined the basic principle of dialectics in the introduction: that contradictions pervade social reality and so social reality can only be comprehended through an understanding and processing of these contradictions. I also outlined Lefebvre's three-dimensional structure: physical practice, ideal thought, and lived creation. This dialectical triad permits the analysis of *becoming* – his concept of 'being' or reality as fluid over time. The dialectical 'moment', of the contradictions engaging with each other, according to Hegel, is the act of *sublation*, where 'to sublate' itself has a dual meaning: 'on the one hand it means to preserve, to maintain, and equally it also means to cause to cease, to put an end to' (Hegel 2014, 5). The third term conserves and negates the first two terms. For Lefebvre, the act of sublation is by no means conclusive. It is not only the opposing terms but their contradiction that 'is overcome, but at the same time also preserved and further developed' (Schmid 2008, 31). Dialectical moments for Lefebvre do not lead to an ultimate truth, for whenever a contradiction is sublated, the seeds of a higher contradiction are retained. This impermanence and uncertainty of sublation is captured by Lefebvre in the concept of movement, whereby 'movement

is thus a transcending' (*DM*, 36). The central feature of the dialectical is therefore not 'a transcension, a synthesis, a negation, but seeing the continual movement' (Elden 2004a, 36). Lefebvre characterises the movement of sublation as the consequence of a creative act (*DM*, 36), a humanist realisation of fluid reality, and herein lies the core of becoming. It is in the movement of sublation, and in the gap between negation and conservation, that Lefebvre locates the *possibility* of realisation, of the potential project, of becoming. There must be room for error, unlike in the Hegelian systematisation, even in logic (cf. *DM*, 9–10). Total man is 'a goal, an ideal, a possibility, not a historical fact; it may never become an actual fact' (Merrifield 2006, 162). The movement of the dialectic opens up to becoming, does not contain it, and opens again.

This critique of Hegel follows Marx, who flipped the dialectical direction from the conceptual movement of becoming, pursuing an idealised knowledge, into material production of the real, living a concrete one. Hegel, who famously argued that 'what is rational is actual; and what is actual is rational' (1821, 20), had claimed that the purpose of dialectics is 'to study things in their own being and movement and thus to demonstrate the finitude of the partial categories of understanding' (1817, n. §81) in pursuit of Absolute Knowledge. Key criticisms of two features of Hegel's dialectic pertain: his idealism and its dogmatic systematisation. Firstly, the Hegelian dialectic concerns the contradiction between concepts and, thus, the dialectical movement is one of idealism – it 'takes place in the concept and thus only in thought' (Schmid 2008, 32). This is unacceptable to the materialist Lefebvre, who explains that contradictions exist in thought *and* reality: 'flesh and spirit, everyday reality and thought, real necessity and ideal freedom, actual servitude and the theoretical power of the intelligence, the wretchedness of concrete life and the splendid but fictive sovereignty of the Idea, are all in conflict' (*DM*, 48). Secondly, Hegel's claim to grasping the totality of human existence in a complete systematisation creates a dogma which is problematic for two reasons. First, it creates a monolith, which 'arrests the flow of time, declares the process of "becoming" closed' (Schmid 2008, 32). That is, in a determined system, there is no room for the uncertain creativity described above, which is central to becoming. Second, the Hegelian systematisation contains a paradox: if human experience 'is infinitely rich, then it cannot be entirely grasped by one thinker; if it can it cannot be infinitely rich' (Elden 2004a, 33). Therefore, for the system to exist, it must abstract the content such that the system can be understood (*DM*, 48), which again removes the dialectic from a concern with material reality.

Lefebvre requires the engagement with the material and so Hegel's idealist dialectic is clearly insufficient, even if it were to be coherent. The dialectic must 'grasp real life in all its contradictions' (Schmid 2008, 32) and so Lefebvre turns to Marx's prioritisation of the dialectic of the material processes of production.

In these ways, Lefebvre's critique of Hegel largely follows that of Marx, in which the dialectic 'loses its abstract, idealist form through being reworked from economic foundations' (Elden 2004a, 34). The dialectic became materialist, with a focus on social practice or action. However, Lefebvre notes that 'in their struggle to grasp the content – historical, social, economic, human, and practical – Marx and Engels eliminated formal method' (*DM*, 81), thus hinting at the potential loss of grasp on consciousness caused by a total retreat from concepts into materialism. Social thought for Lefebvre was just as important as social action and so a clarification of Marx's dialectic was required, even as an act of rescue from its reductionist interpretations. This clarification concerns the distinction between Marx's dialectic of historical materialism and the mechanistic concept of simple materialism. Simple materialism reduces social reality to pure concrete materiality; here there is no such thing as a concept. Thus, consciousness is 'an epiphenomenon of physical-chemical processes' (Elden 2004a, 35). Yet to claim that this is Marxism was a fallacy for Lefebvre: 'all that exists for us is the concrete abstract' (*DM*, 88), and herein lies the key. Of course, the dialectic of Marx's historical materialism referred to the contradictions between the concrete and the abstract – it was a dialectic of materialist social action *and* idealist social thought. These are the first two dimensions of Lefebvre's dialectic.

What then of the third dimension, this Nietzschean act of poetic creation? A reminder of the role of poetic creation so far: it is the cause of the dialectical movement, from the first two terms to the third, as the instigator of indeterminate sublation, the source of possibility, and thus the beginning of becoming. As Lefebvre describes, 'Marxist rationality joins with Nietzschean thought in the justification of becoming' (*M*, 130). Here I briefly outline two key components – the surplus of creation and its force of overcoming – before explaining how Lefebvre incorporates it into the dialectical structure. While this importance of Nietzsche to Lefebvre is uncontroversial, even explicitly described by Lefebvre, the further extent of his importance in relation to the dialectic is contested. It is possible to see the similarity between the concepts of overcoming and sublation – some notion of moving beyond something, while retaining something of it – and Lefebvre directly

compares the two relevant German terms (*OtS*, 171, quoted in Elden 2004a, 37). Elden even claims that the concept of sublation is better translated from the French *dépassement* in Lefebvre as 'Nietzsche's *Uberwinden* (overcoming, overwinding) more than the Hegelian or Marxist *Aufhebung* ([sublation] – abolition and preservation)' (2004a, 37). However, Schmid rejects this move, and their disagreement lies in their divergent conceptions of the structure of the Lefebvrian dialectic.

In returning to the concept of sublation and this debate between two key scholars on the structure of the dialectic, I have returned full circle to the Lefebvrian dialectic as a whole. We have the content of the dialectic: the first dimension of *concrete material social practice*; the second dimension of *abstract idealist social thought*; and the third dimension of *poetic creation*. But how do they fit together? For Elden, the third dimension is analogous to the third term of Hegelian/Marxist dialectics. That is, it is the sublation of the contradiction between the first two terms. Referring to Lefebvre's break from the linear, teleological concept of Marxist historical progress, Elden argues that 'the third term is not a result of the dialectic: it is there but it is no longer seen as a culmination'. The dialectic is therefore 'not simply the resolution of two conflicting terms but a three-way process, where the synthesis is able to react upon the first two terms' (*ibid.*, 37). However, as Schmid points out, this structure loses the dynamic of contradiction, thereby losing its dialectical nature (Schmid 2008, 43). Instead for Lefebvre, as I have shown, the sublation of the first two terms is prompted by the act of poetic creation. Herein lies the radical novelty of Lefebvre's dialectic: it is triadic in that it '*posits* three terms' (*ibid.*, 33, emphasis added) rather than the third term emerging from the sublation of the first two. Each of the three terms is held equally in mutual contradiction with the other two, 'wherein now one, now the other prevails against the negation of one or the other' (*ibid.*, 34). The consequent movement of the sublation leads to an eternally inexhaustively defined and unarticulated *possibility*, which opens up to *becoming*, Lefebvre's dynamic and diachronic conception of reality.

2.2.2 Humanism

Lefebvre's humanism places the living human being, brimming with creative potential, at the heart of any engagement with the world, whether research or coaching, activism, living everyday life. Our impact is the material core of society – its truth. 'Originally and deeply, poetry is truth and truth poetry: practical truth of action and production' (*M*, 135). This production has a creative

dimension to it, this poetic creation – our lives, our attempts to reach out into the social world and make some beautiful sense of it:

> The "human being" (and not "mankind") cannot do anything but inhabit as poet. If we do not provide him with... the possibility of inhabiting poetically or even inventing a poetry, he will create it as best he can. Even the most derisive everyday existence retains a trace of grandeur and spontaneous poetry, except perhaps when it is nothing more than a form of advertising or the embodiment of a world of commodities, exchange having abolished use or overdetermined it (*UR*, 82-3)

Lefebvre's conception of creative, 'opening, project' poetry, is *poiesis*: 'human activity insofar as it appropriates "nature" (*physis*) around and within the human being… thus the creator of oeuvres… Not all creation is poiesis, but all poiesis is creation' (*M*, 138, 8). Poetic 'language was an *oeuvre* of the collective—a work of poiesis through which people appropriated meaning and expressed themselves' (Shields 1999, 123). The oeuvre, then, is the created work of art, of nature, rather than the manufactured product, of 'man'. As Lefebvre describes: 'The *oeuvre* is appropriation. It fashions from time and space, from the sensible, the material, a fragment of "nature"' (cited by Shields 1999, 123). Thus, the appropriating act of '*Poiesis* gives human form to the sensuous; it includes man's relations with nature – his labours as a farmer, craftsman, and artist' (*SoM*, 44). His thinking stems initially from his reading of Nietzsche and his experiences with the avant-garde (even if his association with most of them ended, and with some of them destructed). In particular, Lefebvre finds great affinity with Nietzsche and these activist artist-philosophers in their affirmation of life as overcoming oppression by political and economic forces, through resistance in poetry, art, and touching the extraordinary. Lefebvre's appropriation of certain aspects of Heidegger's phenomenology is also key – most explicitly concerning the poetry of dwelling and human existence as being-in-the-world. In this thesis, I explain the subjective grasp at meaning in the triviality of everyday life that such poiesis can give us, inhabiting the world. Further, leading us from humanism to critique, while retaining both, I discuss the relationship to Lefebvre's revolutionary romanticism of both Heidegger and Nietzsche, as well as Hegel and Marx, giving Lefebvre a feel for a fight and a foil for his furtherance of the everyday as the locus of our alienation and animation, our suffering and survival, our death and new life: our alienation and disalienation, the contradiction of the dialectic given by the very existence of humanity.

2.2.3. Critique

In the previous section I referred to the importance of the human experience of life to Lefebvre, introducing some rather nebulous concepts and the need to move forward from untethered humanism to the real because 'the most *poetic* speech is not enough to change *praxis*, even if it says more than reasonable discourse does, even if it is good for it to have been uttered and if it indicates what is possible' (*M*, 125, emphasis added). Lefebvre needed more of an edge than words: actions. So now I introduce the concrete action given by critique, as, for Lefebvre, 'Marxist rationality thus links up with Nietzschean thought in the justification of becoming' (*M*, 130). Within the broad(est) scope of totality, Marx 'expects mankind to define itself in praxis' (*SoM*, 20), explaining that 'there can be no knowledge of society without critique of that society, of its representations (ideologies) and its accepted concepts' (*CELii*, 101). Lefebvre's marriage of Nietzsche and Marx, this style of humanist critique, is perhaps his greatest contribution to Marxist scholarship, made toward the achievement of his purpose, a 'radical critique aimed at attaining the radical metamorphosis of everyday life' and a claim that this critique was 'alone in taking up the authentic Marxist project again and in continuing it: to supersede philosophy and to fulfil it' (*CELii*, 23). Classical Western philosophy 'broke the connection between subject and object right from the start' (*M*, 194).

> From philosophy in general, understood as philosophical critique of the real, and from the Marxist critique of philosophy, we retain first of all the idea of a radical critique, without hesitation or compromise, of the existing in all domains… We shall then be compelled, not to prove this attitude by philosophical arguments, but to render it effective by *theoretical acts*: by a critique of this or that aspect of the existent, a critique whose effectiveness can consist only in that it opens and indicates the possibility of a practical transformation of this 'existent', up until now unshaken or passing as unshakeable. (*M*, 101)

This radical rationality, a Marxist 'critical knowledge of everyday life' is an active *praxis* (from Marx: social practice/action) that exposes in concrete 'in social reality, i.e. interacting human individuals and groups' (*SoM*, 62) the oppressive powers used by capital against man, and philosophy against the real. In this thesis, I discuss the implications of Hegelian and Marxist influences on the core of Lefebvre's critique. I describe this metaphilosophical concept of praxis as concrete theory and practice, the movement towards becoming sublated in a materialist dialectic. At the heart of any critique is a contradiction. For us to develop and move beyond this contradiction, we must treat the opposition dialectically: no to this and yes to something else, born of this rejection. I outline where this critique should be located (at the everyday base of praxis and totality) and explain the relationship between poiesis and praxis (interacting through the three dimensions of the dialectical triad: the physical, mental, and lived). I also continue the discussion

on alienation, showing how abstracting praxis dominates us, causing alienation in our everyday lives, and how a concrete dialectical praxis is the means of our escape, not from everyday life, but its rehabilitation and realisation, towards totality.

2.2.4. The Urban

Lefebvre was at the forefront, practically, theoretically, and experientially, of the 'urban revolution' of the 1960s, challenging the totalising process of urbanisation that had superseded industrialisation as the main generator of capitalist accumulation (*UR*, 119; cf. 81). The modern city had grown to become man's archetypal creation of the world, 'the supreme oeuvre, which enters into conflictual, ambiguous and dialectical relationships with its institutional form' (*WoC*, 20) and thus the urban is also the current convergence in time and space of the forces of abstraction in our everyday lives, capitalist production dominating the day-to-day oeuvre we inhabit. That '(social) space is a (social) product' (*PoS*, 26) is axiomatic in urban studies: 'citing Lefebvre's triadic notion of social space and his insistence on the "political" nature of space is now *de rigueur* for anyone trained with even a homeopathic dose of critical theory in geography, planning, or architecture' (Kipfer et al. 2008). It is the urban nature of social space that characterises the modern world. 'Urban space gathers crowds, products in the markets, acts and symbols. It concentrates all these, and accumulates them. To say "urban space" is to say centre and [dialectical] centrality' (*UR*, 101). Thus the city mediates both our private existences, the city or its rural periphery (defined by the city) as everyday life, and these global forces of abstraction, the city becoming world. Modernity's opening of city limits, urbanisation beyond the historical walls to the planetary scale (cf. Brenner and Schmid 2012; 2014; 2015), entails a new focus on the 'urban phenomenon', that is

> preferable to the word 'city', which appears to designate a clearly defined, definitive *object,* a scientific object and the immediate goal of action, whereas the theoretical approach requires a critique of this 'object' and a more complex notion of the virtual or possible object. Within this perspective there is… an emerging understanding of the overall process, as well as its term (goal and direction). The urban (an abbreviated form of urban society) can therefore be defined not as an accomplished reality, situated behind the actual in time, but, on the contrary, as a horizon, an illuminating virtuality. It is the possible, defined by a direction, that moves toward the urban as the culmination of its journey. To reach it – in other words, to realise it – we must first overcome or break through the obstacles that currently make it *impossible*. UR 16-17

The spatial formulation of Lefebvre's dialectic – the revolutionary idea at the leading edge of the urban revolution and spatial turn – that space is inherently tied up with social reality means that space does not exist as an independent material reality 'in itself' but is 'produced'. This production of space occurs in the same dialectical manner as described earlier: the threefold relationship between materialist concrete practices, idealist thought patterns, and sensuous, imaginative life.

Lefebvre's schema of the production of space entails the *spatial triad* of 'spatial practice', 'representations of space', and 'representational spaces'. Lefebvre's dialectic is not just a 'spatial dialectic' as Rob Shields would have it (1999), nor can it be deemed the 'spatial trialectics' of Soja (1996), because it incorporates the analysis of the totality of social reality.

'Spatial practice' refers to the production and reproduction of physical space, 'the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation' (*PoS*, 33). Lefebvre also refers to spatial practice as space that is *perceived*, describing spatial practice as the concrete materiality of spatial forms such as the 'corner' of the street, a 'marketplace', a shopping 'centre', a public 'place', and so on (*PoS*, 16). It is a bounded space that includes specific sites such as a football field. As described in the next chapter, conventional studies of sport tend to finish here, focusing on the changing nature of the spaces within which sport practice takes place. However, Lefebvre's concept of spatial practice involves not just the built environment but also our everyday routines which occur with relative continuity and 'secrete' their own meanings (McCann 1999, 172) in a 'process of *producing the material form of social spatiality*' (Soja 1996, 66).

'Representations of space' are *conceived* spaces, which always remain in the abstract and which are constructed in part by ideology. Here, the representation is the image, the idea. Thus, 'scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers … identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived' (*PoS*, 38). We engage in representations of space through our thoughts, ideas, beliefs, opinions, and values, imposing order through meaning. What we are dealing with is not detached, isolated representations, but ideas given coherent form in ideology, defined by Lefebvre as 'a system of meanings of spatial reality, a product of a "political strategy" that would impose their representations' (Busquet 2012, 4). As Soja explains, the order over this conflict 'is constituted via control over knowledge, signs, and codes: over the means of deciphering spatial practice and hence over the production of spatial knowledge' (1996, 67). However, with order comes imposition, and the nature of conceived space as the 'dominant space in any society' (*PoS*, 38) illuminates the first site of ideological struggle, or, if not active struggle, then the top-down process of oppression, for representations of space are 'politically directed' (Busquet 2012, 1).

'Representational space' on the other hand is 'directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of "inhabitants"' (*PoS*, 39). Confusion over the similarity

between the terms of 'representations of space' and 'representational spaces' can be quickly dismissed by understanding the 'representation' in the latter as referring to the ongoing creative/performative act; the (re)presentation. Such a move highlights that representational spaces are perhaps most easily understood as the humanist phenomenological dimension of the dialectic. That is to say, with this third moment of the spatial triad, we are dealing with a sensual, experiential, lived space, *which is itself alive:* 'it speaks. It has an affective kernel or centre: Ego, bed, bedroom, dwelling, house; or: square, church, graveyard. It embraces the loci of passion, of action and of lived situations, and thus immediately implies time*'* (*PoS*, 42). Thus, the representational spaces of lived experience generate fleeting instances of meaning both contingent on space and time and a consequence of specific spatial practices.

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Having discussed the *influences on* Lefebvrian theory (the humanism, critique, or both, of Nietzsche, Heidegger, Hegel, and Marx) throughout this chapter, the novelty of Lefebvre's urban approach means that, to close this chapter, I discuss Lefebvre *as influencer.* Unfortunately, the lack of space in the pages of this thesis prevents me explaining Lefebvre's impact on a larger constellation of urban studies stars[2]. Instead, I focus on the inclusive approach of recent Lefebvrian scholarship. Born of the perceived inadequacies of the first wave's materialist political economy (e.g. Harvey) and the postmodern tendencies of the second wave (e.g. Soja) toward the geographic fetish of space (Kipfer et al. 2008, 8), an apparent 'third wave' (Kipfer et al. 2008) has arisen over the two decades, comprising at least a few very different books (Elden 2004a; Merrifield 2006; Stanek 2011a), anthologies (Goonewardena et al. 2008a; Erdi-Lelandais 2014; Stanek, Schmid, and Moravánszky 2014), collections of Lefebvre's work with accompanying discussion by the editors (1996a [Kofman & Lebas]; 2006 [Elden et. al.]; 2009b [Brenner & Elden]), and a growing number of articles and theses from researchers around the world (e.g. Brenner 2000; Gottdiener 1993; Pinder 2015; Wilson 2013). The third wave is characterised by its emphasis on the role of not just space but also time, not primarily the material or ideal but both together (and the experience too), tending between an isolated subject and complete object, an imagined utopia of poietic praxis, and

[2] Important engagements, positive and negative, advantageous and disadvantageous, include the reactions of: a one-time friend to Lefebvre and key link to the Situationist International, Guy Debord; the structuralist and former student of Lefebvre who, due to his criticism, was perhaps the prime reason for academia's late engagement with Lefebvre, Manuel Castells; the almost sole Lefebvrian flag bearer for two decades, David Harvey, and his critique of capitalist political economy; and the interpretation of postmodern, poststructuralist geographers, in particular Ed Soja.

these all from the potential of his overall philosophy and wider political project. In terms of the urban:

> the three dimensions of the production of space have to be understood as being fundamentally of equal value. Space is at once perceived, conceived, and lived. None of these dimensions can be posited as the absolute origin, as "thesis," and none is privileged. Space is unfinished, since it is continuously produced, and it is always bound up with time. (Schmid 2008)

This approach leads to an undogmatic reading of the 'open-ended, passionately engaged and politically charged form of Marxism' that 'does not assume that there is only one plausible Lefebvre; or, for that matter, that Lefebvre represents a panacea for strategy, theory, and research' (Kipfer, Saberi, and Wieditz 2013, 116). 'Lefebvre may open with an initial schema, but this is a laying of ground for future work, rather than a framework within which he must operate' (Elden 2001). It is each new researcher's task to add to Lefebvre's oeuvre our 'own flesh, our own content, to rewrite it as part of our own chapter or research agenda' (Merrifield 2006, 109), of course with the requirement to 'reflect upon the historical context and overall orientation of Lefebvre's own work before deploying his concepts and insights. Translating – modifying, even transforming – Lefebvre's work is inevitable and desirable but requires care and reflexivity' (Kipfer, Saberi, and Wieditz 2013, 116). This thesis brings the broad church of third wave Lefebvrian research to society, sport and Finnish football, and vice versa.

3. SPORT, SOCIETY, AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

3.1. FOOTBALL, SPORT, AND SOCIETY

Football, the social phenomenon commonly described in the UK as 'the beautiful game' or just 'the game', or in Finland as '*kuningaspeli*' (the king of games, e.g. Itkonen and Nevala 2007), is there, here, and elsewhere routinely elevated to an exceptional position among sports. 'Football people' may refer to the game's sheer size: 265 million players (an oft-cited yet old number), including 40 million registered players, and a further 5 million referees, coaches, and officials, all totalling some 3% of the world's population, without even counting those involved in the game through spectating or otherwise (FIFA 2007). They may refer to the game's enchantment and power to inspire, drawing on the artistry of legendary players like Lionel Messi, Peter Beardsley, or Kustaa Käki on the field, or the united identities in the terraces and the stands. The 'universal language', the ease of jumpers for goalposts, the capacity for us all to kick a ball and score a goal; there are many reasons used to somehow categorise football as different, better than other sports.

Arthur Hopcraft's description of the 'Football Man' in that great revolutionary year of 1968 only referred to the UK when he explained that football 'is not just a sport people take to… It is inherent in the people. It is built into the urban psyche, as much a common experience to our children as are uncles and school. It is not a phenomenon; it is an everyday matter' (Hopcraft 1968). Yet as shown by the anthology *Kuningaspelin kentät*, the exceptionalist language of the belief that football is categorically different has crossed at least the North and Baltic Seas to Finland and is even seeping into academic discourse. This belief, that football is categorically better or at least different, is an interesting characteristic of the football phenomenon itself, yet some 'people' of other sports most surely perform similar romanticisations. Thus, the linguistic competition of talking about football as the exceptional sport already involves a key assumption while distracting attention away from this assumption. Namely, that football is *a* sport and whatever sporting exceptionalism one might find in football can only be understood in the sense that it is one of many sports. What these sports involve themselves include a wide range of activities that go well beyond what happens on the field, court, rink, or in the hall, gymnasium, or arena during the time of play. As the eminent sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, stated, 'a particular sport cannot be analysed independently of the totality of sporting practices' (1988, 153). His concept of our mental processing of society – habitus – is related to Lefebvre's call to inhabit, inasmuch as it describes

that the 'disposition' toward these social practices. However, Bourdieu's habitus lacks an appreciation of the concrete expressions of power and our reactions to it (Nylund 2000; Reed-Danahay 2017). Perhaps worse, his mixed approach of structuralism and agency, of classifying differences within this totality, means that Bourdieu's theory is just not radical enough for Lefebvre's humanism.

I start here to remind us what is at stake: if nothing else, the hearts of the billions of sport-lovers, given up to the sport that came calling and pumping with self-expression, yet vulnerable to the malignant forces of the modern world, and even denied the chance to play. Football was always there for me, since I could fit in a Newcastle United sock. I am one of Hopcraft's 'football men', one of Niiniluoto's 'football people' (Niiniluoto 2007), and we know – we have experienced – the impact that football has on our lives and the power it gives us to live them. Football, ice hockey, floorball, pesäpallo (the Finnish version of baseball), or individual sports like skiing or running; one or more of them may have a hold on us, to a greater or lesser extent, for short periods or entire lives (the first goal I remember was not a ball crossing the line but the puck struck by Timo Jutila for the Finns against the Swedes in 1995). We need not mystify this *hold*: at the very least and in concrete actions, most of us play sport or do sport, watch sport, or are otherwise involved or impacted by the field of activity that we define as sport. We need not love the game or feel its *lumoa* ('enchantment', Niiniluoto 2007) to participate or be affected by it (indeed, we need not be directly involved at all to be affected by football, whether hearing about the World Cup on TV, walking past the local field, or funding associations and schools through taxes). Yet many of us do feel that passion and I believe this is part of the reason why sport could be a paragon field of activity in the new world, championing the expression of every child, adolescent, and adult that wants to get involved in an inclusive game that brings the best out of people.

3.1.1 Sociopolitical History of Finnish Sport

Football was brought to Finnish shores by British sailors and industrialists in the late 19th century and spread rapidly among the coastal cities, from Turku north to Vaasa and east to Viipuri (Sjöblom 2008, 19; Kanerva et al. 2003, 254). Teachers and schools played a prominent role in its spread, Carl Poppius translating a Swedish ruleset (with over fifteen players on each team and victory secured by scoring the first goal) in the 1890s and incorporating the sport into his curriculum

(Sjöblom 2008, 21). Not least given the birth of Finnish football clubs in other civil society organisations, like workers' and youth associations, and its consequent (and continuing) reliance on voluntarism, the game's subsequent development is inextricable from the broader development of Finnish sport and the wider context of Finnish civil society's relationship to the state. Thus Finnish football has also been deeply affected by the changing nature of the state, from independence and the civil war to the creation and dismantling of the Nordic welfare state (indeed Finnish sport's unusual relationship to politics is of particular interest). In a little over a hundred years, Finnish society has transformed from a thinly-populated agrarian principality, where sport provided rural-dwellers 'new kinds of stimulating activities and also possibilities for social improvement' to an industrialised service-based market-driven nation, with sports clubs having offered early rural-urban migrants a 'form of community for a meaningful way to spend time and meet each other and thereby dissipate the feeling of rootlessness' (Koski and Lämsä 2015). Meanwhile, beyond the Finnish state and civil society, the game's arrival from abroad shows that it has always been located in an international setting.

Rather than a fuller exploration of the history of football that is beyond the remit of this thesis[3], this section very briefly summarises five key phases of football's development from the turn of the 20th century to today:

1) *Foundations* (pre-1900s – 1920s) – creation of clubs, sport and football associations, and sport-related government institutions on a national and local level;
2) *Consolidation and Ideological Conflict/Compromise* (1930s to early-1960s) – the development of nationwide operations characterised by a competitive football focus, class-based struggle between workers and right-wing associations, and tensions between amateurism and professionalism;
3) *Growth and Sporting Conflict* (mid-1960s – mid-1980s) – saw a polarisation between elite sports competitive training and grassroots health-promoting 'Sport for All', reconciliation between left and right political wings, and football's growing internationalisation;

[3] I have primarily based this history on Itkonen's and Nevala's now well-established four phases of Finnish football development (2007; 2012) and, to describe the last decade, Itkonen's more tentative fifth (2010). However, contextualising football in the broader sport movement and changing political setting means also acknowledging these higher level developments, which do not necessarily cohere temporally, and so I somewhat adapted these five phases in the light of Ilmanen's and Itkonen's periodisation of Finnish sport in terms of the relationship between public administration and civil society (2000) and Itkonen's (adapted into Giulianotti et al. 2017) four-step tracing of the development of Finnish sport clubs (1996), as well as my own interpretation of other sources.

4) *Expansion and Fragmentation (mid-1980s – mid-2000s)* – civil society's fragmentation under the impact of globalisation and related economic downturns, and organisational 'technorationalism' (Juppi 1995);
5) *Networking and Privatisation (late-2000s – today)* – further differentiation and rising 'networks' against fragmentation.

Throughout, the roles of the state and sports associations on a national and local level are key, with Finland considered an interesting example of the Nordic sport model that is traditionally characterised by 'large, national and voluntary sports organisations with a near monopoly on competitive sports on the one hand and a significant involvement in sports from the government on the other' (Bergsgard and Norberg 2010, 567; cf. Giulianotti et al. 2017). This kind of collaboration between government and civil society is a 'corporatist' model, here as 'hierarchically structured sports movements that aim at mutual alliances' and 'representing collective interests' (Makinen et al. 2016, 267; cf. Itkonen 1996). Historically, this form of corporatism has involved giving greater weight to the role of the government and its universalist and egalitarian conception of social citizenship than to the market, in line with the social democratic Nordic welfare state of which sport is an explicit and 'essential part' (Lämsä 2012, 89), enshrined as it was by the internationally pioneering Sports Act of 1980 (most recently updated in 2015). Thus, 'the role of the government as a partner of the sports movement is based on the importance of the sports organisations' role in maintaining the welfare society' (Lehtonen 2017, 170). While this balance between the public and private sectors and their associated decision-making processes is undergoing significant realignment on local, national, and international scales, the voluntary dimension retains its centrality in Finnish football as in Finnish sport more broadly.

Alongside these sociopolitical influences and implications, the tensions between elite sport and 'sport for all' are of particular interest. The former, a continuation of the evolution from amateur excellence to professional achievement, refers to high-level national or international sport competitions (and all the trappings, like spectators paying for tickets or TV subscriptions, scarves or shirts) whereby athletes are paid (by salary or sponsorship) and improving performance and winning competitions are primary objectives. The latter conception, of which Finland was perhaps the earliest formal adopter and lately an international best practice benchmark (e.g. Sport England 2002; cf. Collins 2010), emphasises increasing participation in sport of all members of society for

the purpose of extending equal access to its positive social functions, not least health, as seen by the 1967 reconceptualisation of sport as 'physical activity' (*liikunta* i.e. movement). The Sport Act was key in establishing this strategy, but the policy direction was clear as far back as the Commission on Physical Fitness of 1966-1970, which recommended that government should focus on leisure activity and encourage sport for all rather than elite sport, because elite sporting organisations would be able to secure funding from other sources if public money was not available (Itkonen and Salmikangas 2015, 549). Football's example is of the *Kaikki Pelaa* ('Everybody Plays') programme, which involved a broad societal push across the daily lives of home, school, and club, which guaranteed the right of children and youths to a supportive and safe football hobby of games and play in different circumstances around the year, and aimed to ease access to the sport (SPL 1999). Sport in Finland is thus 'part of a special spirit of the community' and is 'deeply rooted in competition blended with recreation' (Meinander 1997, 6; Savola 2002, 337). As I argue, Finnish 'sports and politics have been intertwined in an exceptional way' and this 'bond… was exceptionally strong and long-lasting compared with the other Nordic countries' (Lämsä 2012, 83; Makinen et al. 2016, 269). Rather than claiming that this bond has been severed, I believe it has been radically rearranged.

For decades, football has been the most played team sport in the country, both overall and especially among children and young people. Today, one in 40 people in Finland are football players affiliated to the Finnish Football Federation (*Suomen Palloliitto* – SPL), compared to ice hockey's one in 75 (IIHF 2017; SPL 2017; Tilastokeskus 2017). That near doubling of ice hockey's number is also reflected when including unaffiliated, more casual players of the sports (Nuori Suomi 2010; Suomen Kuntoliikuntaliitto 2010). Of particular interest is the burgeoning cohort of 112,000 affiliated young players: almost one in every eight 5-19 year olds in Finland is an affiliated footballer (SPL 2017; Tilastokeskus 2017). So, not just the stadiums of the twelve teams of Veikkausliiga, then, but the 360 artificial grass pitches that populate urban areas across the country (Terho 2018), the thousand or more natural grass fields , the 'sand' pitches (more like grit), the indoor hard floors of every school gym, where all the 140,000 affiliated players train and play, and the 20,000 teams meet. For the two or three hundred thousand or more who are not in an affiliated team but play in school, in kickabouts (*höntsät*) or in the odd tournament with friends and colleagues, and in a variety of different forms, more or less casually – the middle or at least the

corners of those places too. And then led away from the pitch by the kid leaving a training session – a football scrawled with his name and that of his team strapped to the outside of his rucksack – to the match on television, conversation in a bar or classroom, the tram stop advertising board, newspaper article, and all the other ways in which the practices of football (playing, spectating, or otherwise) infiltrate, more or less obviously, into our daily lives. With a more open, totality-appropriate appreciation of Finnish football and a focus on its popular, everyday aspects now set, I turn to the ways in which the social sciences have examined sport.

3.2. SPORT AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

How do we ask social scientific and political questions, those that engage with the broader relationships between people and the power dynamics that affect them, about the phenomenon of sport so closely tied to emotion, or more nebulous feelings, and obfuscated by glamour? Traditionally, these questions were not asked, let alone answered. Sport has been excluded from social scientific study, or at least 'cast on the outer rings of the academy' (McDonald 2008, 32), on, I argue, three main grounds. Firstly, especially given this tendency for romanticisation, the perceived lack of seriousness in the subject matter entailed 'that real men, or real sociologists, study important things like social stratification, not frivolous things like football' (Mennell 2006, 515). Secondly, sport in this context was perceived as 'neutral' (Sage 1990), 'peripheral or meaningless' either as 'autonomous or separate from society or politics' (Jarvie and Maguire 2002, 2), or as a mere reflection of wider social forces otherwise 'too stubbornly familiar a part of life in contemporary societies' (Mennell 2006, 515). Thirdly, there has been, and arguably remains, a gap in understanding between social scientific researchers of sport and the researchers who treat sport as involving a science in and of itself (sports scientists), of which the relationship has actually 'experienced tension and strain' (Yiannakis and Melnick 2001, 1), which I would characterise dialectically. Indeed, the gap between those with 'sporting knowledge' and those with sporting 'know how' is even greater (Breivik 2014): just compare the perceived anti-intellectualism of some sport practitioners (coaches, players) or other participants such as fans (Bairner 2009) to the ivory tower of academia (Bourdieu 1988)!

In recent decades, however, there has been an explosion in the more practitioner-led academic field of *sports* science, including coaching/pedagogy (e.g. Jones et al. 2010), sports

medicine and physiology (e.g. using subjective evaluation by athletes as an easily applied method given the setting of team sports, Foster et al. 2001; Gabbett 2016; Saw, Main, and Gastin 2015), sports psychology (Ryba and Wright 2005), performance analysis (e.g. considering the team as a 'superorganism' in an open system, rather than isolated individuals, Duarte et al. 2012), and these subjects are beginning to acknowledge the broader implications of sport's social nature. And 'self proud' *social* scientific researchers have finally heeded the call, best described by the Finnish student Urho who later became Finnish president: 'step out of the rarefied atmosphere of science back down to earth' and give sport the attention it deserves (Kekkonen 1925). Great inroads have been made since the 1960s in establishing the importance of investigating sport as a social practice and collection of ideas, the 'popular facets of a lived way of life for many people' (Jarvie and Maguire 2002, 2; cf. early works of Dumazedier 1967; Elias and Dunning 1966; Heinilä 1969; Kenyon and Loy 1965). In this way, 'its global popularity alone means that sociologists cannot ignore sport' (Giulianotti 2005, *xi*). Many of the first strides toward legitimating sport as an object of social scientific study were made in Finland, with Kalevi Heinilä's work giving 'rise to a wider and more profound discussion of the role of the social sciences and their application in the sport life of the country' (Seppänen 1998, 14). With the support of this background and a government-mandated faculty of sport sciences in Jyväskylä, 'from a social and behavioural sciences perspective, Finland has a long and successful history in the sport and exercise sciences, and in particular in sports pedagogy/sociology' (Haskell et al. 2012, 53). The steps made by these researchers in Finland and around the world have been vindicated by the massive expansion of social scientific sports scholars and their publications, conferences, and associations in the last few decades. Of course the contributors to the anthology edited by Itkonen and Nevala recognise the subjectivity of their appeal to our love of the game, and have succeeded in their goal of engaging Finnish social scientists in the study of Finnish football. Perhaps recognition of the importance of football in Finland was overdue. In this instance, the superlative construction of football may not have been to elevate football above other sports, but only to put them on a par with the respect given to others in this country, such as the winter or motor sports in which Finland excels. Emblematic of this development, this year a 'Football Professor', Mihaly Szerovay, was appointed at Jyväskylä, in a newly founded position jointly funded by the university and Palloliitto. While a former professional player (a goalkeeper at Jyväskylä), Szerovay's background in the social

sciences brings a much needed broader cultural angle to the range of subjects studied and projects performed. From this perspective, football and sport in general, in Finland and around the world, is now considered neither frivolous nor peripheral to 'hard' sociopolitical phenomena, and the gap between the sports and social sciences is narrowing.

So sport is a significant social activity, full of diverse activities. What are these practices? How do they enable hearts to express themselves? What are the concepts and broader forces that influence them? Broadly, I answer these questions throughout this thesis, beginning in this chapter with an introduction to three dimensions of the social scientific debate concerning sport held broadly in parallel with the three core concepts of this thesis: the critical turn in sociology; the spatial turn galvanised by urban studies; and the humanist phenomenological turn which challenges analytic approaches to the subject-object relationship.

3.2.1 Critical Turn

Encouraged by the newly developed sociologies of sport and flexibility of the fledgling field, 'the context of the late l960s and l970s, with all of its political volatility encouraged sport sociologists to focus more of their attention on critical analyses of sport rather than on developing the applied dimensions of the field' (Yiannakis, Melnick, and Morgan 2015, 5). Early movements in that direction focused on divisions caused by class, race, and gender, although perhaps most prominently critical sociology examines how sport is 'one of various cultural settings in which the hegemonic structure of power and privilege in capitalist society is continually fortified' (Sage 1990, 209). Critical theorists have applied perhaps the full range of classical sociological traditions to the phenomenon of sport, including Durkheimian functionalism, Marxism (and post-Marxism), and the 'conflict perspectives' of sport (Karen and Washington 2015), ranging from the structures of Weber, the mental response of Bourdieu's agent, Foucauldian post-structuralism, and beyond (e.g. Carrington and McDonald 2008; Giulianotti 1999; Giulianotti 2005; Hughson, Inglis, and Free 2005; Jarvie 2006; Jarvie and Maguire 2002; Sugden and Tomlinson 2002a). Expanding these frameworks to understand race and gender in sport, as well as incorporating further themes from cultural studies approaches, alongside class analyses, are essential to the project of sport critique. For Richard Giulianotti, one of the pre-eminent critical sociologists of sport, this critique should involve three aspects: correcting errors and misunderstandings; highlighting inequalities in power

relations and social arrangements; and exploring alternative worlds of sport based on social democracy, inclusion and social justice (Giulianotti 2005, 7).

In their first steps of a 'general critique of the commodification of sport', Giulianotti and his colleague, Walsh, refer to the growing unease among people involved in sport about the 'qualitatively different kind of entry of market-centred processes into sport'; the 'hyper-commodification' of elite football (Walsh and Giulianotti 2001, 54). They describe the corporatisation of clubs, the 'supplanting of more democratic structures or community-tied ownership by distinctively impersonal, corporate frameworks of power' and the mammon that the game has become (Walsh and Giulianotti 2001, 57). Henning Eichberg, another prominent critic of capitalist sport and the 'racing society' it reflects and extends, describes sport as a 'practical ritual of the industrial way of production: making people race for measured results. "Quicker, higher, stronger" is the motto of both the competitive sportsman and the industrial producer' (Eichberg 2007, 315). Such a competitive streak is held in contrast to the notions of health (especially, but not only, mental health), fair play, cooperation, self-expression, honesty, and the 'mutual quest for excellence' underpinned by moral, dutiful action (Ball 1997, 80), an opposition which Juha Heikkala characterised as communicative-normative interactions being 'replaced with strategic interaction oriented towards success' (Heikkala 1993, 359), and Hannu Itkonen described as 'clearing away the idea of a united sport and all its good-producing moral foundations' (Itkonen 2014). Yet dogma is not exclusive to capital. Nor are conceptions of competition essentially and exclusively capitalist, or conceptions of recreation competition's only or desirable opposition. And below all, the elite game is not the sole field of dogma in football, with its ideologies long recognised to have an influence on the amateur and youth game (Butsch 1984; Galliher and Hessler 1979; Morikawa 1979; and more recently Cordery and Davies 2016). Critical sociology of sport that follow Giulianotti's call to imagine new democratic worlds that have broken such dogmas and encourage the 'emergence of an ethos which stresses the importance of equality in a twofold sense: … equality of opportunity to participate… and equality in the conditions of competition' (Dunning and Malcolm 2003, 1) must also describe the routes towards such transformation, the modes of resistance against the oppressive power dynamics (cf. Sugden and Tomlinson 2002).

3.2.2 Spatial Turn

To the footballer only concerned with the power of the opposition's defence, a turn into space is to control the ball, change the tempo, create a chance to score a goal. Sportspeople have been explicitly employing the concept of space in their actions on the field of play, even studying space (and time, which it bears repeating should not be displaced by space) like Victor Maslov, the early Russian tactician who artificially segmented the pitch and demanded his players be in the right area at the right moment, according to who had the ball and where (Wilson 2010), or the even earlier Wing Commander Charles Reep, credited with the creating the English stereotypical 'long ball' game – the quicker the ball gets forward, the better (Reep and Benjamin 1968). These inherent spaces (and times) of the match, an 'invasion' sport or other game, however, were usually described as Cartesian containers, with dimensions of x, y, and z, whether of the shape of an attack against the lines and press of a defence or the strength given by application of muscle mass atrophied or hypertrophied according to use. Space is quantified just as the time of the ticking clock, speed of the run, or hours of sleep in preparation for the match. Now, following the movement known as the spatial turn, the social sciences has begun to pay attention to the *social production* of space.

Spaces of sport – the stadiums, playing fields, dressing rooms, gyms, swimming pools and so on – have been studied from a range of perspectives. There is a great deal of literature surrounding sport stadiums in relation to their community representativeness (Bale 1993, 2000; Nagbøl 1993; and in the context of Finland, Bairner 2015), in their role as 'catalysts of urban change' through megaevents such as the Olympics (Essex and Chalkley 1998; Imrie, Lees, and Raco 2009), as branding sites (Gold and Gold 2008), and in a wide array of other interesting contexts. Focusing on the concept of space itself, however, provides a different object of approach; the social nature of the sport space itself. I reject the conception of space the 'sport space' literature has often espoused because it does not explore meaning, largely ignoring the contestation of ideas and practices. To paraphrase Doreen Massey, 'space is not a flat surface on which we play football'. In this light, I explore the dynamic relationship between us and space, of which Henri Lefebvre's explanation of 'space' as a social product forms the foundation.

'Sport space', as explained in the introduction to the 'Sport and Space' issue of the first English language journal to deal with the topic[4], 'is a social construction that merits examination from a scientific perspective: sport space is a social space' (Puig and Ingham 1993, 101). Explicitly

[4] The *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* was, perhaps unsurprisingly, beaten to the post by the French (e.g. Haumont 1987).

drawing on Lefebvrian work then only recently translated into English, and thus perhaps riding a wave that it did not yet fully understand, this double issue attempted to build a theoretical framework for research on sport space as regarding its social production. Several articles in 'Sport and Space' analyse sports facilities, employing a wide range of methodological frameworks. For example, Bale compares the Foucauldian prison to the football stadium (Bale 1993b). Meanwhile Metcalfe examines the structure and agency of the historical development of football fields in north-east England (Metcalfe 1993). Puig et al. conduct a factor analysis to illuminate the relationship between sport facilities and socio-political context (Puig et al. 1993). Eichberg and Nagbøl round off the list with their analyses of how the architecture of sports facilities 'influence the physical and mental constitution of the individual' (Nagbøl 1993, 265; Eichberg 1993).

However, the direction of the influence Nagbøl describes – from space to society – does not establish a strong link with Lefebvre's work, and this is corroborated by similar lines of thinking taken by the other authors in this issue (although not Eichberg, as I discuss in the next section). For instance, Puig et al. consider sports facilities as 'implanted' (Puig et al. 1993, 203) into the social, political, cultural, and economic environment, rather than, as Lefebvre might have argued, borne out of and through. Another example is the call to remember the work of Piaget – 'how space can induce psychomotor responses and social attitudes' (Puig and Ingham 1993, 102) – which is heeded too strongly in the following pages, excluding the impact of such responses and attitudes on space. While there is undoubted value in the research contained in this issue, I argue that it failed to establish any significant connection with the key social tenets of Lefebvrian thought. Ingen argues that there is a 'taken-for-grantedness of spatial meanings that needs to be questioned' (2003, 207). More than questioning it, I argue that the lack of discussion of the social relations conducted within these places, let alone the very origin of these places in social relations, entirely misses the Lefebvrian message. While study of sport and space has enhanced its appreciation of the *social production* of sport space since the 1990s (e.g. Ingen 2003; Silk 2004), there remains a preponderance for regarding such spaces as locations or sites of social relations (e.g. Vertinsky and Bale 2004), rather than as products and manifestations of them. This slant remains a hindrance to much sociological research on sport space.

3.2.3. Phenomenological Turn

Broadly coinciding with the spatial turn at the end of the 20th century, the implicit and explicit phenomenological turn in sport sociology, elsewhere described as the 'somatic turn' (Sparkes 2010, 41) or new focus on 'body cultures' (Eichberg 1989; 2002; 2009) and a 'carnal sociology' (Wacquant 2006; 2015), has had a similarly penetrative impact on the social scientific study of sport, even if traditional analytic philosophies still hold sway (McNamee 2009) and the phenomenological label is often 'confused' and 'unjustified' (Martínková and Parry 2013, 332; see also Kerry and Armour 2000) . Phenomenological approaches address the relationships of sporting subjects (be they athletes, coaches, referees, or supporters) to sporting objects (perhaps opponents, teammates, footballs, or fields), rejecting the dualist split of mind and body and instead engaging with the projection of consciousness, personal lived experiences, and feelings, emotions, and sensations centralised by and emanating from the body (embodiment), standing in marked contrast to reductive functional and analytical understandings. A common example, the concept of 'flow' (e.g. Elkington 2011), of being 'in the zone' and smoothly performing the bodily task without undue thought, moving to receive the ball and striking it towards the top corner on instinct, is well-understood as a basic truism by athletes, even as analytical approaches struggle to account for it. Phenomenology defines space no longer by Cartesian dimensions, but by the flesh's sensory interpretations of it, and encourages critique on the basis of our experiences of oppression, rather than on conceptual frameworks. Sports sociologists have adopted classical phenomenological approaches. The transcendentalism of Husserl has been used, for example, to describe the 'lifeworld' of sports coaching (Cronin and Armour 2015), although I find the Husserlian method of bracketing assumptions reduces the constituted self to absurdity and goes in the opposite direction required to achieve Husserl's goal of describing phenomena. The hermeneutics of Heidegger, Ricoeur, and Gadamer are of more use, engaging with subjective interpretation rather than reductive general description, of athletes' exploration of their own capacities under the 'agonistic' logic of competition (Savage 2016), and certainly of more interest when exploring the everyday realities of people in sport, be they the 'car stickers and coffee mugs' of supporters (Stone 2012; see also J. M. Smith 2019) or players, perhaps from marginalised communities discovering the feeling of belonging (Stone 2018). I find the existential approach of Merleau-Ponty to be of most interest, and of great potential for filling the perceived body-shaped gap in Lefebvrian theory (cf. Kinkaid 2019),

for example in exploring skill acquisition (Purser 2018), pain (Honkasalo 1998), and in explaining the inter-personal dynamics of collective performance in team sports, of 'play as dialogue' (Zimmermann and Morgan 2011, who also engage with Gadamer's hermeneutics; see also Hughson and Inglis 2002; Gesbert, Durny, and Hauw 2017). Approaches like the latter, which address the collective environment of sport, are the most useful for social scientists as they are less likely to fall into the trap of individualist phenomenologies that cannot be legitimately extended beyond the specific, singular case: the 'human being of sports is not alone in the world: Existentially, and from our very beginning, bodily movement is a relation between body and body' (Eichberg 2010, 329).

Explicitly following the spatial turn and directly acting with critical purpose, Henning Eichberg's phenomenological philosophy of sport bears further explanation, not least due to some similarities with Lefebvrian thought and to its adoption by prominent Finnish sport social scientists (e.g. Sironen 1995; Sparkes and Silvennoinen 1999). The core of Eichberg's project of 'bodily democracy' was to 'develop a bottom-up mode from empirical body culture to philosophy' (2010, 4). This concept of body culture, which includes sport, play and games, dance, meditation, and outdoor activity, asks 'What about the magical and cultic or the erotic and psychedelic dimensions of the dancing body?' (Eichberg 2002, 117), thus maintaining a close link to culturally specific rituals and the energy and atmosphere of the festival (Eichberg 2008). The concept was in part born from his earlier work on ethnic and national identity and difference, and so 'body cultures' rejects the notion of sport as a universally monolithic phenomenon. Instead, the cultural relativity of sport entails its diversity and thus the existence of conflict in a 'struggle for the body'. This struggle is evident in what Eichberg and other Danish sport sociologists termed the 'trialectics of sport' (Eichberg 1989) where sport defined variously as health, achievement, and experience, contest over meaning. The initial parallels to Lefebvre's three dimensional dialectic are clear: 1) the *perceived*, physical use value of fitness, social interaction, and bodily development associated with 'sport for all'; 2) against the *conceived*, mental exchange value of competitive success or failure, a rank higher on the league table or a second slower on the clock; 3) against the *lived*, experienced 'energy' value of sensuous enjoyment and sadness, surprise and anger in the moment of a shot, pass, tackle, or save. While the differences in content between these patterns of sport are clear, Eichberg does not effectively separate the differences in form between sport for health and sport for achievement, or indeed between these and sport for experience, even if the latter is more easily

found in the body cultures of less obviously competitive or health-related activities, like juggling or buffoonery (Eichberg 1989, 54). All three can contain aspects of each other. No matter the welfare-orientation of an organised football programme for amateurs, there is still competition, even if it might be 'glossed over discursively by references to notions such as "doing one's best" and "playing fair"' (Jonasson 2014, 5; see also Probyn 2000) and certainly the players experience the game they are playing rather than mechanically gaining its utility in a process devoid of feeling. Further, sport for health contains as many ideological constructs as sport for achievement, and any given lack of them in patterns of sport for experience should only be considered an ideological choice itself. It seems artificial to separate these models of sport, rather than to investigate the dialectical tensions between them evident in any given instance of sporting activity, thought, or life. Every game, one way or another, involves development (or regression, or maintenance), success (or failure, or a draw), and enjoyment (or suffering, or indifference).

4. RESEARCH PROJECT

4.1. GOALS

4.1.1. Develop, Win, Enjoy

And now, my dear philosopher, allow me to inform you that your activity – teaching philosophy – is both everyday and non-everyday. Insofar as it is an exceptional activity, a mediation, a journey into the purely abstract and conceptual, philosophy is constructed above the everyday, even when it meditates on life and the concrete. Insofar as it is a social activity, integrated within structured groups, with their models, and their social roles, such as the philosophy lecture, the lycée, the town, the university, it enters into the everyday (*CELii*, 56)

I told a hundred members of the *Tico-perhe*, the family and community (cf. Lillrank 2018) of my former north-east Helsinki team, Atletico Malmi, assembled for our 25th anniversary gala dinner, that before I came to Helsinki, I left from British politics and the academy into football, in search of truth. When I moved to Finland as an adult (having lived here as a small child), that search took the form of several goals: get a master's degree in 'social policy / urban studies', challenging and developing myself as a scholar (and my niche of academia as critiqued and grounded); engage and contribute to the football community, challenging and developing myself as a coach (and my players as footballers and people); and engage with Finnish society, learning the language, the culture – supporting myself and seeing it through for five years, come what may. I tell myself I am still on track, eight years later, having lived highs and lows toward achievement of each of these goals, which have often been in conflict with each other, and now come together in an agonistic relationship embodied in this thesis. This text, as well as marking the first goal's final hurdle, thus also captures something of the rest. Here I am touching on the whole, whether that of Finnish academia, football, or society, my life or my players'. I told Atletico I found truth in north-east Helsinki, of the power of nurturing our communities (as recognised by the Helsinki district FA, in their presentation of the Culture award to us in 2017, for, among other actions, the 'boy calendar' cf. *Seiska* 2016), of honesty (that people tell us 'we apparently have a professional atmosphere and operating model – yet we're still able to drink booze'), and of the wider social life I had discovered with them and otherwise in Tapulikaupunki, Malmi, and the rest of the north-eastern *lähiöt* (suburbs). The celebration of football embodied by that team is of course an example of only some things that football can be about – within the totality of sporting practices – with the rarefied 'elite' of 'high performance' in opposition to such recreation. Such opposition is shown in the conflation of different practices that comprise youth football and the obvious point that any aspect of the game, as coach, player (licensed or hobbyist without a pair of boots), businessperson, fan, or parent: we want to develop, win, and enjoy, to varying degrees. Of course, Jari Litmanen enjoyed playing

(even through the pain), plenty of professionals like their drink, and the most recreational footballer can often be the one that wants to win at all costs. I tell every team that our three overall goals are to develop, win, and enjoy ourselves, and I have been involved in a range of areas of Finnish football, each exhibiting different decontestations of the definition of each of these goals and the balance between them. My data analytics company has consulted for *Veikkausliiga* clubs and the women's national team, I have played höntsät (kickabouts) alongside other bad players, watched Newcastle and England in bars, and I have coached over two hundred teenagers in different Helsinki youth teams through a season in the highest and lowest divisions, (in addition to the men of Atletico), perhaps the same number again of footballers ranging from absolute beginners to experienced internationals, men, women, girls, and boys, in sessions I have led or assisted across the wider metropolitan area. Each of these seem like very different worlds, yet their contradictions are nevertheless connected and contributory (that is, dialectical) parts of the same world: Finnish football, Finnish society, totality.

Scholars and coaches discuss their philosophies or try to hide them behind pragmatism and objectivity (cf. Cushion and Partington 2016), and Lefebvre challenges both, presenting us with a dialectic grounded in our everyday lives. I describe my interpretation of this humanist, critical, and urban theoretical programme of experiential action, applied to and explained through sport (specifically Finnish football), critiquing how we should be living the game – what we should be doing to improve it through our daily lives, both as a widely enjoyed social activity and a team or individual performance (winning and developing). My application of the Lefebvrian dialectic to sport begins at home with my coaching jacket, cones, and bibs, at our training sessions, in matches against teams around Finland and beyond, both on and off the field of play – with a (critiqued) subjectivity as an integral part of totality. The Finnish football described here is therefore that which I have experienced during these years of coaching, supporting, working in the game. Above all, following Giulianotti's critical sociology and Eichberg's critical phenomenology, the goal is to improve Finnish football, uncovering iniquities and imagining a radically different society in which sport and other social practices of the urban are democratic, inclusive, and encourage the full and free development, rather than empty and accumulative growth, of humanity.

4.1.2. Dialectical Research Questions

My implicit goal is to articulate and justify a dialectical process loyal to Lefebvre – in part an analytical framework, in part an active project, and in part something else, grounded in our everyday lives. Grappling with the breadth, depth, and idiosyncrasies of Lefebvre's dialectic in its appeal to totality (i.e. approaching everything) is not straightforward. It is not a singular exploration of isolated concepts (à la some non-dialectical theory). Neither is it a dualism: not of the systematically syllogistic contradictions between concepts (Hegel), nor of the socially stratified opposition between conceptual and material reality (Marx). For Lefebvre, it is also the lived experience – with and against both the material and the ideal – that is involved in the creation of society. This three-part shape, breaking out of the structuralism of duality, is Lefebvre's fundamental contribution to dialectical theory. I draw it through the relationships between his humanism, critique, and focus on the urban. But Lefebvrian theory cannot be just about concepts – it is also a concrete application in reality and a lived experience of society. In this thesis, therefore, the dialectical process is my conceptual, practical, and experiential exploration (of, on, and in the field) of Finnish football. Implicitly, I ask: How do core concepts defined by Lefebvre's dialectic relate to each other? How do they apply in sporting practice? How do they help explain our everyday experiences in Finnish football?

What are these core concepts? There are two basic assumptions of Lefebvre's dialectics: *totality* and *metaphilosophy*. The essential problematic explored in his dialectical approach is *alienation*, expressed in the *time* and *space* dominated by abstract *ideologies*. The *methods* of action at the heart of his work to understand and overcome alienation have inspired the research, art, and politics of activists around the world. Following a process of narrowing focus that I describe in the next section on data and methods, in this thesis I deal with those first three core concepts. **Totality** refers to how society is a whole, even if it is fragmented (and internally opposed). We are connected to each other in our shared everyday lives, even if we are pushed apart from (or against) each other. For structuralist Marxists, totality refers to the dialectic of the all-encompassing base-superstructure. For Lefebvre: the *everyday*, the *urban*, and the *global*. Following totality's assumption of our connection, Lefebvre's **metaphilosophical** project – a 'supersession of philosophy' – is directed at the everyday's transformation, describing social relations in terms beyond philosophy as a means to open up to totality, renewing conventional dialectical *praxis* (the combination of thought and action) by incorporating lived creation (*poiesis*) and dead imitation

(*mimesis*). Why anyway does everyday football, society, need transforming? The problem is **alienation**, the basic contradiction of other against self that is at the heart of Lefebvre's *romantic revolutionary* outlook. Understanding the battle of alienation against disalienation gives the dialectical means for overcoming those experiences of the Nietzschean death of poetry, Hegelian externalisation of the spirit, or Marxist othering of our humanity, our work and product, and our fellow human being. Resisting the *abstraction* of forces that homogenise, fragment, and hierarchise the totality requires the imagining of *utopia*. So, explicitly, I ask: How does sport relate to totality, from the everyday to the global, as mediated by the urban? What are sport's moments of creative poiesis, concrete praxis, illusory mimesis? What is alienation in sport and how is it overcome?

4.2. DATA AND METHODS

4.2.1. Method, Theory, Experience

In this section, I describe what I have done in order to answer these three explicit research questions. That is, I outline the acts and processes (or open *démarche*, or procedure, that Lefebvre preferred as against a systematic formula, cf. Schmid, Stanek, and Moravánszky 2014, 17), that I have made and undergone in relation to this thesis. In other words, my research methods, my encounters with the data of Lefebvre and Finnish football: my reading and construction of Lefebvrian theory, method, and experience, and of the game – of the city and everyday life as 'texts' to be read and rewritten (*WoC*, 102–3). Yet before I outline the information I have sought about Lefebvre and Finnish football and how I have handled it, I briefly address the dialectical relationship between the concrete method (and piece of data), abstract theory (and contested concept), and lived experience (and felt emotion).

How to turn the dialectical framework of theory toward the methods of empirical research is not a move made with as thick a backing in Lefebvre's writings as his conceptual developments. As the editors point out in the first published attempt at bringing together different approaches to Lefebvrian empirical research into one edited volume, 'for a long time, Lefebvre's work was mostly seen as purely theoretical… and applications and mobilisations of Lefebvre's theory for empirical studies came late' (Schmid, Stanek, and Moravánszky 2014, 5). Yet as they, their forerunners, their contributors, and those that have stood on their shoulders, have all shown, Lefebvre is certainly not only theoretical. Far from it. He is imperviously concrete in the theory he espouses, highlighting

that theory is given by the *acts* of abstraction. Thinking is an act, not a pure abstract. The activity of thinking has method to it, a logic, and, for Lefebvre and for this thesis, this method should be dialectical. Creating this conjoined theory and method, then, is the experience – the third term of Lefebvre's dialectic, of poietic creation and resistance, of the individual reaching out to the social. Lefebvre has 'the desire constantly to link the conceptual with the experiential; the autobiographical dimension of theoretical reflection; a relationship to "experience", in Hannah Arendt's sense of the word' (Trebitsch 2002, 10; cf. Hyvönen 2018 re: Arendt). Lefebvre's descriptions of the world were thus often more artistic than academic, whereby 'Metaphor is mixed indiscriminately with reality' (Smith 1984, 124). But this is an essential means of conveying the meaning of concepts, practices, and experiences.

I characterise the Lefebvrian research process as involving four general actions of life, each associated with specific (although vague) Lefebvrian methods. As a first step, I have *listened* to the rhythms of everyday life in Finnish football. The 'pilot' *rhythmanalysis* I performed in the summer and autumn of 2016 was fraught with limitations, but helped orient me toward the Lefebvrian mode of time, implicit in what I do myself (as a coach, researcher, person) as also in my players and teams, when together or against another, and over the weeks and seasons as the children grow up and the men and women hang up their boots to save their knees. It is easy to let the cacophony of everyday rhythms, in their essential ubiquity and trivial vibrancy, to hide the urban abstractions behind arrhythmia. Second, I have *read* the 'social text' of the city, the spatial textures of the game, attaching meaning through my interpretation of the daily life of which I am a part. In seeking to identify the concepts and their abstracted meanings, the methods of sophisticated participant observation employed by Lefebvrian researchers are various to the extreme, immersive or otherwise. Such research of sport, and its relatively clearly identifiable specialised movements and practices, is wide open with potential. Its systematisation is challenging. Third, I have been *thinking transductively* – the 'substantive programme of experimental research' (Temple 2014, 209) of critiquing an abstraction and developing the 'imagination to be deployed' on its possible future (*WoC*, 155; cf. *WoC*, 151–55; Larsen and Brandt 2018). This imagination is not a loose fantasy, but a kind of 'social science fiction' (Neary 2003). So the researcher 'builds a virtual object using information, and which uses the given to arrive at a solution' and thus 'transduction goes from the (given) real to the possible' (*CELii*, 118). Bringing this imagined world to bear on the existing one

shows the ways we can change it. The Finnish football of the future can be how we want it to be. Thus lastly, in the communication and realisation of this imagined possibility, I am *writing utopia*: this thesis, my training session plans, and tomorrow – my own, my players', and that of Finnish football. This closing of the gaps between theory and action and subject and object – the creation of poetic praxis – is not just the typing of my laptop keys. It is my story of the problems I have seen (even faced) in football while here in Finland and in the end, it is the question: do you feel it too? If you do, may I ask, what are we going to do about it? Concretely, what have I done?

*

A subscription to totality means that significantly limiting the span of engagement with the Lefebvrian corpus or separating different components of his theory from the rest, would run strongly against Lefebvre's project. Lefebvre 'did not produce, and indeed was totally antagonistic to a closed and tightly knit systematic approach, which would have been more easily reproducible, theoretically and empirically' (Kofman and Lebas 1996, 38). However partial, I have therefore attempted to get a feel for Lefebvre as a whole, 'his own extensive life work [resembling] a fluid constellation of concepts tied together by cross-cutting methodological concerns, political orientations, and rich, if controversial life experiences' (Kipfer 2009, xiv). Not just abstract theory, but material action, and lived experience too. I want to understand Lefebvre's oeuvre, which can only be done by exploring how these concepts actually become in whatever limited sense of the totality I can grasp.

The data available to me concerning the concepts, practices, and spirit of Lefebvre is primarily what I have been able to access of his own oeuvre – his books and articles, interviews and lectures, lessons and acts. Yet there is no doubt that the secondary literature on Lefebvre is a vital source of information that is indeed more *useful* than that managed by Lefebvre, through its attempted clarifications or developments of the theory, empirical investigations, or popular engagements and social movements. Since my first course at Helsinki University in 2012 (on activism, the city, and the environment) I have read Lefebvre, about him, and tried to understand him and his relevance to making the world a better place. My first readings of Lefebvre (and related secondary literature) began with *Right to the City* and its cry and demand for a new politics of the inhabitant (cf. Purcell 2002), and his groundwork for social movements renewing our power to create the world around us (*WoC*), for which I wrote a paper on the 'English Summer' of riots

that had spread across the country after the police shooting of Mark Duggan the preceding year. In a 2013 urban planning course, I found some synergies with Lefebvre and my background in political theory when examining his critique of planners' ideology of space (cf. Gunder 2010) and of Althusser's structural Marxism. To Lefebvre I brought a more inclusive conception of ideologies as ubiquitous configurations of political concepts found not only in ostensibly political acts, thought patterns, and feelings, like voting, but also everyday ones, like queuing at the post-office (e.g. Freeden 1996). Together I began to apply these to some of the ideological debates in Finland and Finnish football, writing a paper on the ideology of *Kaikki Pelaa* ('Everybody Plays') and the meaning of the neoliberal Finnish football field. Yet my grasp of Lefebvre's wider conception of society was weak, and the epistemological questions arising prompted a concerted effort to grapple with the theory of the production of space (in *PoS*) and its Marxist foundations (*SoM* and *DM*) as well as the experiences found in the volumes of the his trilogy on everyday life (*CEL*). My reading of these texts was of course heavily influenced and often led by the secondary literature (especially Elden 2004a; Goonewardena et al. 2008; Merrifield 2006; Shields 1999). By the spring of 2015, I had presented papers on the third wave of Lefebvrian research in which I gave early explanations of his dialectics, the everyday, the urban, time, and space. Over the next school year I focused on the empirical research aspect, investigating the hard to pin-down Lefebvrian methodology, paying particular attention to his methods of transduction and rhythmanalysis and exploring the diversity of methods employed by different researchers. In the summer and autumn of 2016, I conducted a pilot of some of these methods in a rhythmanalysis of everyday life in Helsinki youth football, although suffered a resounding failure in attempting to get beyond an uncritiqued individual subjectivity.

Throughout these years, while broadening my reading of and around Lefebvre, I have been gradually refining my understanding of his theory, method, and experience for changing society. But after exploring the newly available *Metaphilosophy* and parts of *Towards an Architecture of Enjoyment* (*TAE*), the challenge (with eight papers on Lefebvre, hundreds of pages of notes, and a fraying patience) was, under my supervisor's advice to stop reading, to produce an actual master's thesis. Humanism, critique, and the urban have long been clear to me as essential elements of thematic structure of Lefebvre's work. Under those themes, I had previously focused on the core concepts of dialectics, totality, metaphilosophy, alienation, time, space, and the methods Lefebvre used. To comply with the page restriction on this thesis, those concepts have been narrowed into

three (totality, metaphilosophy, and alienation) as a means to define Lefebvre's dialectic, with my work on time and space somewhat merging into these chapters, ideology into alienation, and my explorations of methods that survived the cull into the conclusion chapter as a way of opening up to the future.

*

Finnish football is where I spend most of my everyday life. In applying these dialectical practices, concepts, and experiences, to sport, I thus hope to support the defragmentation of disciplined knowledge and help to integrate such social theory to sport. More realistically, I am at least bringing these fields of social life together, however fleetingly and trivially, for a moment. It is a reminder those of us involved in football in Finland (as in all sports, everywhere, and in society as a whole) of the broader context of some of the problems we face. The data on Finnish football that I have collected includes more or less casual observations, daily conversations, informal interviews, policy documents, training plans and other coaching documentation, websites, emails, handled in fieldnotes, photographs, audio recordings, and memories – in other words, touching on the full spectrum of information that I have processed during my time here in Finland as a football coach and Lefebvrian researcher.

4.2.2. Answering Dialectical Research Questions

Lefebvre gives us a dialectic of theory, action, and experience in an open-ended social framework that holds the human central to its critique of the modern world's urban paradigm. Over the following pages, I unpack three core concepts in this dialectic: totality, metaphilosophy, and alienation. For each concept, I explain the Lefebvrian theory (involving a deeper delve into sub-concepts) and relevant conceptualisations of sport from the social scientific literature while providing a practical application to Finnish football in a creative reach from my experiences in the game here, often going back and forth between each aspect, and forwards to the possible, in my attempt at transductive dialectical research. I have also structured the results of this process dialectically, separately identifying the humanist, critical, and urban tendencies of each concept but posing them against each other. That structure necessitates another level by which the dialectic is somewhat in evidence here, with the sub-concepts of the humanist sections in particular requiring a heavier focus on the experiential, while the sub-concepts of the critical and urban sections vary

more between the material and the ideal (see Fig. 2). In this way, I draw these concepts out, through this structure of theory, through their empirical application, and through the lived story of Finnish football, to show how abstractions can dominate our everyday lives in the game and in society as a whole.

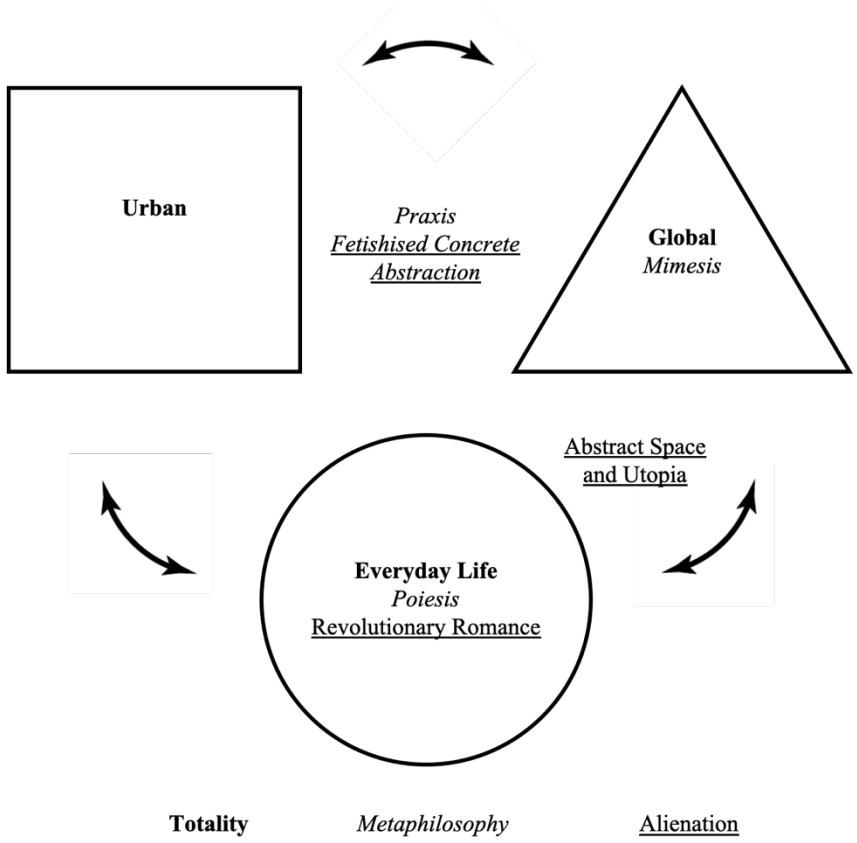

Figure 2. Representations of the Lefebvrian Dialectic for Research

5. TOTALITY

We cannot do without the concept of totality. When we are dealing with human reality, both theory and practice encompass a conception of totality (i.e., of society and mankind), implicitly or explicitly. Without this concept, there can be no frame of reference; no generality, and even more, no universality. Without it, knowledge itself ceases to have a 'structure'. It becomes scattered into fragmented studies which replicate exactly the division of social labour instead of controlling it and understanding it. (*CELii*, 180)

Sport is a part of totality – the unity of society and mankind (individuals, groups, and humanity) – of shared joy and sorrow on the field of play, but at the same time sport is a part that tends away from the whole, fragmenting people and our relationships. It is a global 'sub-system' of characteristic everyday activity mediated by urban institutions and language. Football in particular, as Vuolteenaho and Kolamo introduced, displays the 'economic, institutional and performative hierarchicity as well as distinctive textual repertoires' (2012, 152) by which Lefebvre critiques the 'systems and sub-systems that aim at systematising thought and structuralising action, and as such… the main product of the so-called "organised" society of controlled consumption and of its setting, modernity' (*ELMW*, 73, cf. 98–99).

Yet even if totality is equated with 'unity, wholeness… in a word "system"' (*ELMW*, 42), it is not a concept of a downward deterministic theory that instead fragments unity in an attempt to reduce or completely grasp social reality, creating the 'dismembered and dissociated human being' (*WoC*, 143). It is a critique of such systematisations, instead opening up from man to the relationships that make up society: Lefebvrian totalising thought depends on contradictions in its incomplete grasp of the whole – totality as open-ended possibility. System can only refer to the entirety. Meanwhile, sub-systems close in on themselves in an attempt at cohesion that can only be internally cohesive, rather than acknowledging the relation to other sub-systems or the encompassing whole. Our very concrete and very different everyday activities are examples of something bigger and wider than themselves – the general (or, rather than risk fragmentation under ideological dominance, the universal) – and it is what we produce together that makes up this inclusive, inexhaustive whole. Unity as the unfinished interconnectedness of a concrete totality and of our collective capacity to produce and create the world is a basic conception of Lefebvre's dialectic.

Finnish football reveals the unity of totality through, inter alia: the relationships within a team and between two teams opposed on the field, between the international athlete, amateur player, and the eight year old with a dream, connecting the World Cup to Kolmonen (Third

Division) and the various youth 'nipper leagues' (*nappulaliigat*), or between every respective goal, tackle, or save, seen and performed in Finland and the world over. Totality includes the relationship of football to other sports (like *pesäpallo*'s early dominance over Finnish football) and other sub-systems and oeuvres: be they Hjallis Harkimo's or Marc Gao's business interests (the former bringing ice hockey to football and the latter transporting Finnish sport to China, cf. Juntti 2016), or Atletico Malmi and the sauna, north Helsinki fields and bars, and the not-yet-trodden road to Europe. Totality consists of the relationships that unify *singular* instances (like feeling your foot strike leather) under the prescriptions of sociopolitical or logico-mathematical *generalities* disciplined by scientific representations (like the state or private provision of football fields on the basis of benefit to public health, the cost of the ball and the boot you kick it with, or FIFA's eight yards by eight feet goal frame) that refract the descriptive *particularities* (of shots at goal, the match and your team, or Malmi city) (cf. *PoS*, 15–16, 226–27; Stanek e.g. 2011, 139).

The 'desire for totality', or Lukacsian 'aspiration' (1971, 174), does not subsume the differences between singularities or specific particularities under an asserted general, uniform, 'unreal universality' (*SSW*, 76). Instead, the unity of the singular, particular, and general 'moments' of totality's 'concrete universal' in today's urbanised world can be initially understood by recognising the potential in each diverse but common **everyday** instance – of the creative work that can be each touch of a ball – to resist such **global** dominance – of the sub-systems of the state and capitalist mode of production that box it up and sell it to us, alienating through abstraction. Totality's application to sport can be usefully introduced through the respective humanism and critique in the *private* and *global* 'levels' of totality in sport, and their mediation by the *mixed* level of the **urban** and its institutions (cf. *UR*, ch. 4). The key term here is 'level', and of such components establishing as a *multi-level* totality, of which the aforementioned three broad moments (rather than the dual base-superstructure of orthodox Marx) structure this chapter. It is important here to differentiate between 'levels' (*niveaux*) and 'scales' (*échelles*) in which Lefebvre ascribes to a relatively conventional understanding of a vertical hierarchy of scale, from the body, through the local, urban, regional, national, supranational, worldwide, to the planetary (cf. e.g. Brenner 2000, 368 n.12; Elden 2008, 86). As Lefebvre describes (*CELii*, 119–20; cf. Goonewardena 2008, 126–27), such a 'schematic of a scale or of a formal hierarchy of degrees is much too static' to effectively reach for totality: 'rigid concepts do not capture the real in some vast, flexible net, they

let it escape'. Level, in contrast, 'designates an aspect of reality' and so 'allows for it to be seen from a certain point of view or perspective', with the implication of a multiplicity of levels, 'differences between levels', and 'consequently gaps, (relatively) sudden transitions, and imbalances or potential imbalances between those levels'. So the levels of the singular, private everyday, of the particular, mixed urban, and of the general global, 'cannot be completely dissociated one from the other… [they] can interact and become telescoped. As one level mediates another, so they act one upon the other. At one particular moment… one level can dominate and incorporate the others'. Attending to these three levels and their ongoing interactions is thus the reach for totality.

5.1. EVERYDAY LIFE

> … daily life cannot be defined as a 'sub-system' within a larger system. On the contrary: it is the 'base' from which the mode of production endeavours to constitute itself as a system, by programming this base… The programming of daily life has powerful means at its disposal: it contains an element of luck, but it also holds the initiative, has the impetus at the 'base' that makes the edifice totter. Whatever happens, alterations in daily life will remain the criterion of change. (*CELiii,* 41).

Everyday life is the base level of totality. Not 'base' as in mean or low, an alienating repetitive drudge, even if daily life has indeed been programmed as such a 'backward sector' (*CELi*, 8), 'colonised by capital' (Debord) in today's 'bureaucratic society of controlled consumption' (ELMW, ch.4). Instead, our everyday lives are the connected personal foundation of social reality: 'a set of functions which connect and join together systems that might appear to be distinct' as 'the very soil on which the great architectures of politics and society rise up'; but not only from below, as everyday life 'surrounds us, it besieges us, on all sides and from all directions' (EE, 9; *SoC*, 89; *CELii*, 41). Everyday life is essential to understanding our humanity. 'In so far as the science of man exists, it finds its material in the "trivial", the everyday' that consists of 'human raw material' (*CELi*, 133, 97). It is also essential to living our humanity, as 'it is in everyday life that the sum total of relations which make the human – and every human being – a whole takes its shape and form' such that 'either man will be in the everyday or he will not be at all' (*CELi* 97, 24). Thus, the transformation of society can only be defined '*concretely* on the level of everyday life, as a system of changes in what can be called lived experiences' (*CELi* 347, 24); changes we need to overcome the alienation experienced in the trivialities of modern life. 'Homo sapiens, homo faber and homo ludens end up as homo quotidianus, but on the way they have lost the very quality of homo; can the

quotidianus properly be called a man? It is virtually an automaton, and to recover the quality and the properties of a human being it must outstrip the quotidian in the quotidian and in quotidian terms' (*ELMW*, 193). Marxism, then, as a '*critical knowledge of everyday life*' enabling 'the analysis of the proletariat, of its *practical, historical* and *social* reality' (*CELi*, 147, 148). As Andy Merrifield describes, 'everyday life possessed a dialectical and ambiguous character. On the one hand, it's the realm increasingly colonised by the commodity, and hence shrouded in all kinds of mystification, fetishism, and alienation… On the other hand, paradoxically, everyday life is a primal arena for social change – the only arena – "an inevitable starting point for the realisation of the possible"' (2006, 10).

The broad scope and inclusive characterisation of everyday life – always with that element of luck or uncertainty – means that a concrete definition of the concept escaped Lefebvre, who described Brecht, Joyce, and other humanists more at home in the arts as having the best grasp of how these trivial occurrences 'assume epic proportions' (Merrifield 2006, 8). Indeed, the negative definition of everyday life – as the 'residue' of everything else, 'what is left over' from specialised activities – is arguably the most popularised aspect of his everyday life concept. This epistemological instability is in fact essential to Lefebvre's conception of the everyday. Far from closing off meaning, it is the means by which it expresses its capacity for subversion, 'the ill-defined, cutting edge' (*CELii*, 335). A number of concepts that flesh out the meaning of 'everyday life' can be identified. Here, I explore the following concepts of the everyday, introduced above: the **private-collective subject**, **creativity and repetition**, **residuality, and commonality**. I conclude by referring to the relevance of this base of **singularities** to the whole.

5.1.1. Private Subjectivity

The *private* aspect of everyday life refers to subjectivity, to the basic raw material that are our lived experiences of 'becoming' (fluid being) and to our personal nature, inhabiting the world habitually, yesterday, today, and when Saturday comes. Lefebvre terms this living of everyday life the level of 'habiting' (*l'habiter,* cf. *UR*, 189 n.2), a form that underlies but opposes 'habitat' (a higher ideological concept that prescribes and limits the basic activities of habiting, cf. *UR*, 81). Habiting bears a begrudgingly acknowledged debt to Heidegger's notion of 'poetic dwelling' as the creative subsistence of being-in-the-world (*UR*, 82; *M*, 135). Dwelling provides a focus on the individual

consciousness in contemplation at home, but habiting goes well beyond the isolated nostalgia of Heidegger's hut. From the moving body to 'the city, rather than the home' (*M*, 128). Not just private lives, which 'remain privation' (*CELii*, 90), experiencing the ball in the backyard, alone or with family. The '"essence" of "man" cannot be found in the isolated individual but consists of a set of relationships or concrete (practical) social relationships' (*UR*, 102).

Thus, everyday life refers to our embodied selves experiencing a fundamental engagement with society as a whole, a 'collective subject', in the dressing room or on the pitch, in the park or on the street (the ball being banned from the backyard, e.g. Moilanen 2015), online or in the flesh, alone or with another kind of family – the team or otherwise – and with everybody else. The body, the central node of activity in this private collectivity, the 'metronome' of our everyday lives, is inherently relational – between the foot, ball, and goal – 'the point of collision of the social and biological' (Elden 2004a, 197). The 'generative and creative social body' (Simonsen 2005, 1) is the basis of everyday life, and a case in point of the relation between the private and social body – the epitome of subjectivity and objectivity, selfhood and the Other, alienation and disalienation – and I explore these concepts further in the third section on *Bodies*. For now, it is pertinent to ask: how does the body reach out to the world, the team to the match, the fans to the sport, uniting subject and object, opening up to becoming?

Indeed, alongside the body's metronomic quality of modulating time, 'the whole of (social) space proceeds from the body' (*PoS*, 405). While no player was ever born with a ball attached to their foot, it is no metaphor to lace up your boots and use the leather as an extension of your body, controlling the ball and the world around you with physical, conceptual, and experiential tools: 'it is by means of the body that space is perceived, lived – and produced' (*PoS*, 162). Bodily movements, 'gestures' directed towards an objective (*PoS* 40, 80, 174) – the pass to a teammate or tackle of an opponent, the referee brandishing the red card or the rivals' handshake after the match, the applause or the booing (or the two fingers) – are understood in their various societal contexts (*PoS*, 215). Systems of gestures embody collections of concepts – prescriptive and proscriptive in their ideologies of attack and defence, discipline and 'fair play', supporting your team – and every day made material, incarnate, real, by you and me. While we ourselves are implications of a most bodily private-social act, the implications of the actions of our bodies, immediate or epochal, are all around us, not least when hitting the top corner, the net bulging with human power.

In contrast, and as I shall later show, modernity's individualism and the global forces of capital among others, interrupt that engagement, objectifying the human subject and separating the social (like Heidegger's uncritiqued subjectivity and suspicion of the city, the surrealists' vacating exceptionalism, the left's abstract party dogma, and the right's exclusive identity politics). Disengaged from the social and alienated in competition against others and the self (not least in contests as isolated as the *taitokilpailut*, the once popular and always obscure Palloliitto- and club-run individual skills competitions that mean no longer even winning or losing together). Living as exploited workers – exhausted making football boots in poor factory conditions for Palloliitto partner Nike (cf. Clean Clothes Campaign and Éthique sur l'étiquette 2018) or youth coaching between the production line of prospective professionals and the service of hobby and leisure activities (e.g. Anon. 2018). Dying as docile consumers – the fan lined up for tickets or clicking for a TV subscription to watch the spectacle, often one broadcast from some foreign land with profit skimmed off many times over, and, to play the game, the team and club membership fees, pitch-time rents, or new Nike boots paid for by the player or their parents. I continue to define Lefebvre's conception of the body throughout this thesis. The lived experiences of the collective subject are an essential part of the dialectic, indeed its 'third', novel dimension.

5.1.2. Creativity and Repetition

What characterises everyday lived experiences in the modern world? Alienating repetition, such that we should break away from triviality? 'No. It will only alienate in definable conditions and situations: when "something else" becomes possible. However, we should not separate repetitive praxis from creative praxis' (*CELii*, 239). While the surrealists at least appreciated the alienation caused by the 'contemptuous' and 'corrupt' trivialisation of everyday life – turned into boring routines and ignored by philosophy – they failed to grasp the concrete potential of that everydayness. 'Is it not in everyday life that man should fulfil his life as a man? The theory of superhuman moments is inhuman. Is it not in day-to-day life (not the life we lead now but a different one, already attainable) that the truth in a body and a soul must be grasped?' (*CELi*, 127). In ignoring the boring, the surrealists 'belittle the real in favour of the magical and the marvellous' (*CELi*, 110), yet everyday life is usually boring, and its everydayness is often its banality. The focus of these 'other-worldly' metaphysicians (*CELi*, 138) on the 'exceptional moment' as a critical

stance leads to a 'divorce from life' (*CELi*, 250–51). They 'promised a new world, but they delivered the "mysteries of Paris"'.

> The most extraordinary things are also the most everyday; the strangest things are often the most trivial, and the current notion of the 'mythical' is an illusory reflection of this fact. Once separated from its context, i.e. from how it is interpreted and from the things which reinforce it while at the same time making it bearable – once presented in all its triviality, i.e. in all that makes it trivial, suffocating, oppressive – the trivial becomes extraordinary, and the habitual becomes "mythical"' (*CELi*, 13).

So Lefebvre's focus on the trivial is in order to realise its potential in its triviality, while the surrealists and much of the romantic avant-garde had lost touch with the trivial: 'Our search for the human takes us too far, too "deep", we seek it in the clouds or in mysteries, whereas it is waiting for us, besieging us on all sides… it is in the most familiar things that the unknown – not the mysterious – is at its richest' (*CELi*, 132).

Triviality cannot and should not be escaped, vacat(ion)ing in the extraordinary. Everydayness should instead be 'rehabilitated' to release the possibilities of its dialectical contradiction. 'In another sense nothing could be more superficial: it is banality, triviality, *repetitiveness*. And in yet another sense nothing could be more profound' for there is 'a power concealed in everyday life's apparent banality, a depth beneath its triviality, *something extraordinary in its very ordinariness*' (*CELii*, 47; *ELMW*, 37). A poetry to habiting, of the legends that we create (gone in a moment or told to future generations), of life together on the field and in the community, about the power of hitting the top corner, while playing around, in training, or in the second half of the Malmi derby: Koopa's goal, the fifty yard 'fireball' (*tulipallo* – 'an everyday hit it was not') with one of the same balls we use every training session, on another Saturday afternoon at Puksu in one of a run of six draws against those rivals (Atletico 2017). The everyday is repetitively banal, but it is also creative, both alienated and disalienated. Totality gives the dialectical 'double dimension of the everyday: platitude and profoundness, banality and drama' that 'embraces both the trivial and the extraordinary', 'the simple moments and the highest moments of life' (*CELii*, 65; *CELi*, 20; *PoS*, 86).

The everyday is thus defined not as the 'repetitive alone, but rather as the place where repetition and creativity meet and confront each other' (*CELii*, 239-40), a 'bouquet of "moments" mixed into the banality' (quoted in Shields 1999, 61), such that 'all inventiveness is born from the everyday, and is confirmed within it' (*CELii*, 240). Breaks in – not from – everyday life are very much part of the broad pattern of the everyday, full of creativity's 'transitions and mediations' with the repetitive (*CELii*, 239). Indeed, sport (as leisure) can be the very outlet for such a creative break

in everyday life, a 'genuine reverse image' (*CELi*, 35) of triviality inasmuch as it is in 'constant reference to everyday life and the changing contrasts implied by it' (Lefebvre 1979, 137). But we should be wary of the fragmented 'vicious circle' of sport as escape, of 'work to earn our leisure, and leisure… to get away from work' (*CELi*, 40). Rather, we should seek the unity of work and leisure (*CELi*, 30), of repetition and creativity, of everyday life released by reintegrating it into the whole. I continue to explore the concepts of creativity and repetition throughout this thesis, especially in the following chapter on metaphilosophy (describing praxis as involving *poietic* oeuvre and *mimetic* imitation, while referring to Lefebvre's concept of time and its *cyclical* and *linear* rhythms).

5.1.3. Residuality and Commonality

Lefebvre describes everyday life as 'in a sense residual, defined by "what is left over" after all distinct, superior, specialised, structured activities have been singled out', filling the 'technical vacuum' between them (*CELi*, 97). This is everyday life as a 'kind of enormous, shapeless, ill-defined mass… the murky background from which known relations and superior activities… are picked out' (*CELi*, 252). Yet what is left over is 'of fundamental epistemological, theoretical and political importance' (Buckley and Strauss 2016, 626). It is everyday life's indeterminate residuality that is its potential power against specialisation and also the 'connective element' that unites our shared but different experiences: 'totality is the residual made active' (Hoa 2014, 57). Everyday life is 'the sociological point of feedback… the point of delicate balance and that where imbalance threatens' that 'receives the remnants, the remains of these "higher" activities; it is their common measure, their fertile or barren soil, their resource' and is thus 'profoundly related to *all* activities, and encompasses them with all their differences and conflicts; it is their meeting place, their bond, their common ground' (*ELMW*, 32, *CELiii*, 11, *CELi*, 97).

The black plastic pellets from artificial grass pitches that collect in boots and trainers before spreading across homes around the country (two million kilogrammes a year disappear from Finnish football fields cf. Sillanpää 2017a) such that I have learned to call them *viholliset* – enemies – or the white sleet and snow that seeps into shoes and socks before its icy solidification: these are not just metaphors for the pervasiveness of everyday life (nor of sport in everyday life) associated with residuality and commonality (although perhaps a metaphor for the three-part dialectic if we

throw in some colour: the pellets sometimes come with loose green blades of artificial grass and the sky is sometimes blue). They are also simple and easily recognised examples of the recurrent trivialities related to football that make up the day-to-day of different people involved in the game, found in the common ground – literally (artificially) – between and around them. The 'simplest event – a woman buying a pound of sugar, for example – must be analysed. Knowledge will grasp whatever is hidden within it' (*PoS*, 57). My girlfriend asks: *Could you at some point vacuum cause there's that grass everywhere?*, in what is certainly a polite version of what many who kick balls around on aging artificial fields often hear, a polite example of a simple everyday request we might make of one another, and a retort to isolated consciousness: even if you never go near the football field, you might find it in your bedroom.

Relevant analysis requires a touch (approaching a grasp) on the residues we create in the common horizon of experience, rather than the description of specialised activity. Sport, whether for work or leisure, does contain highly specialised and structured activities, and often involves a 'highly developed technical expertise' (*CELi*, 32), especially organised sports. These specialised actions of training sessions and matches are activities we perform on an everyday basis. Indeed, those of us whose days are spent on Finnish football fields may easily slip in to talking of everyday life *in* Finnish football. But Finnish football is rooted to the base level of totality (and its higher levels) such that it is the everydayness *of* a characteristic activity and the connective tissue which binds it to others – the common residues of and around football *in* everyday life – that we should investigate: the journey to the field, by public transport or on foot, in a lift from a parent or riding on the branded bike that HJK give their senior players; the dressing room chat and the fine for talking about the Temptation Island TV show; the tape for socks, muscles, and to alter a player's shirt number, while the cassette for the music has been replaced by a Spotify playlist; the trivial specialties of the training session's warm up routine and technical exercises, possession games and goalscoring drills, its 'tactically' focused sections and 'physically' focused sections, and its 'tempo-games', 1v1 and 2v1 games up to 11v11 games (and occasionally a 12v12 game, as ended one training session around May Day for a bit of fun), along with attack v defence games and the rest of the games until the 'end-games'; and away from the field on a mobile app communicating with the team on Whatsapp or reporting readiness to play on Quanter. Whether Veikkausliiga player, casual *höntsääjä*, or e-sports FIFA champion, a coach or team official, or a living, breathing, eating,

football fan, whatever the differences and apparent separation in our experiences of football: they are the experiences which collectively produce the beauty and boredom that is the game, and are a part of the daily relationships that generate everyday life itself.

5.1.4. Singularities

The 'most trivial object is the bearer of countless suggestions and relationships; or refers to all sorts of activities not immediately present in it' (*DM,* 116). Yet how do we get from the 'seemingly unimportant activities' (*ELMW*, 14) of vacuuming the plastic enemies and blades of grass on a Tuesday night or scoring a goal a Saturday afternoon at Puksu to the whole? From a private (albeit collective) subject to the social, from a brief moment of creativity or repetition to the full picture, or from an indeterminate leftover to a common ground? In other words, the move of the 'desire for totality' from the singular to the universal? To answer that question adequately, the roles of the *general* and *particular* levels require the explanation I give them in the next two sections. But already now, on the assumption and requirement of totality, it is possible to understand that upward movement from the everyday base (towards the global as mediated by the urban), while recognising the downward influence (from global to everyday), that comprises society. It is at the level of everyday life that 'is expressed and fulfilled those relations which bring into play the totality of the real, albeit in a certain manner which is always partial and incomplete' (*CELi*, 97). It is 'via these partial totalities and levels which cross-refer to each other, and via these fragments which presuppose a whole and which necessitate the concept of a whole of which they are the evidence and the elements, but not the entirety. Fragmented in one sense but already total in another' (*CELii*, 237). As Merrifield describes, a 'bit like quantum theory', then: 'going small' and 'delving into the atomic structure of life as it is really lived' can reveal the secret of the 'human universe' (2006, 5).

Those black pellets, produced in a factory by one company, shipped to Helsinki by at least another and spread on synthetic grass that had been laid there with financial investment by another company and the cooperation of the municipal government. The snow, coming (almost) every year, entailing football's status as a summer sport in the Nordic countries with the league season running from spring to autumn (while organised training is ongoing more or less throughout the year for those that want and can afford it), not to mention the futsal league or the European and international

match calendars) and requiring the construction of the artificial 'all-weather' football fields. The kit washed in a machine powered from the grid and shedding plastic fibres into the world. The legend of Koopa's goal referring quite directly to 'friendship, comradeship, love, the need to communicate, play', some of Lefebvre's partial examples of totality (*CELi*, 97). The fine for talking about Temptation Island, perhaps a critique on consumerist distraction when 'we're here to work hard', but at the same time relying on the capitalist mode of financial exchange. Spotify, Whatsapp, Quanter: the commercial products and services of international companies penetrating daily life. The games in training as teamwork and opposition, success and failure. What is a football match without a collection of repeated kicks of the ball under the laws of the game and on a football field? What is society without our everyday lives under the global frame and in a particular urban milieu?

*

The key is to activate these subjective, repetitive, residual singularities – to empower them. The presupposition of totality, the reference of the singular to the whole, is key: 'The idea of specificity is logically intelligible only in relation to an encompassing notion of generality against which it is defined; it is thus best understood as a relational, dialectical concept, one that presupposes a broader totality, rather than as a demarcation of ontological singularity' (Schmid 2015, 161). To locate instances in totality and put them in a dialectical opposition: the subject as collectivity, the repetitive as creativity, the residual as connectivity, the singular as commonality. These essential humanist conceptual building blocks thus already suggest a critique – a routine revolution in the romance directed against alienating abstraction: 'the critique of everyday life… implies criticism of the trivial by the exceptional – but at the same time criticism of the exceptional by the trivial, of the "elite" by the mass – of the festival, dreams, art and poetry, by reality' (*CELi*, 251). Of everyday fandom: the 'car stickers and coffee mugs' (Stone 2012) against the grand spectacle of the matchday 'experience' or the World Cup 'fanzones' (Vuolteenaho). Of everyday playing: not solely beguiled by the surrealities of professional players' mystified superhumanism (cf. the cult of Messi). Of both supporting and playing: perhaps the Dutch twentysomething's name Jari given in honour of the Ajax Amsterdam legend (Sillanpää 2017b). 'King' Litmanen is Finland's most successful player, yet the *kuningas* is but a man, flawed with injuries, retired, perhaps not quite a candidate for Greatest Of All Time. Instead, engaging with his banality, and with new legend Teemu Pukki, carrying his boots to training in a plastic Alepa shopping bag, or with Koopa's

moment: superhuman but for the fact that it was lived by all of us there that Saturday, or who have since heard the story about an expression of very human power. A poetic power, which was implicitly understood by the youth player who reminisced with the boys in the dressing room – *what other legends do we have?* – after our team's last minute equaliser in a crunch under-15 league match. And a power not only from nostalgic superlatives, but in concrete trivialities, like vacuuming on a Tuesday night and sending the day's Tico Watch report (*päivän Ticobongaus*) to the team Whatsapp group after spotting a teammate in town, or the Playstation controller for playing FIFA with friends and the keyboard for commenting on futisforum2.org with or against other fans. A power only realised, indeed premised upon, critical analysis: beyond 'a purely descriptive understanding, for it stands opposed to any analytic approach and even more to any global account of the generative process in which we are interested', of the creative poetry of everyday life (*PoS*, 121–22). Asking rather, what legends can we create – in the next match, the next training session, and beyond football – tomorrow morning? An everyday life that encourages the creativity of these trivialities, the poetry of people's day-to-day experiences in sport and elsewhere: 'Let everyday life become a work of art!' with 'the death of an art external to everyday life, the fusion of art and everyday life in a transformation of the latter' (*ELMW*, 204; *M*, 305). Global (general) critique, as I now introduce, releases the creativity in the repetitive trivialities of everyday life.

5.2. GLOBAL

> Power—the state as will and representation—is exercised at the global level. As will, the power of the state and the people who hold this power are associated with a political strategy or strategies. As representation, politicians have an ideologically justified political conception of space... At this level, these strategies are accompanied by various *logics* (*UR*, 78)

Key concepts of everyday life have implied a critique, then, but it is limited, isolated, and thus a meaningless critique if it remains at that level. Rather, the critique of everyday life is the 'revolt of the "lived" against abstractions, of the everyday against economism, of the social and civil society against the "high rate of growth"; whose demands are upheld by the State' (*SSW*, 114). These are the 'powers, colossal and despicable, that swoop down on everyday life and pursue their prey in its evasions and departures, dreams and fantasies to crush it in their relentless grip' (*ELMW*, 65). Critique of the everyday involves a critique of the powerful strategies and logics that frame and programme it, as evidenced and experienced in everyday social life. 'It is always the social that

holds the secret of the political, that holds the reasons of the political and of the state rather than the political in itself or, conversely, the economic taken separately' (*SSW*, 60). The growth principle of capitalist political economy, indeed 'the immanent necessity of this mode of production is to produce the world market on an ever-enlarged scale' (Marx 1894, vol. III, chap. 20). Led by the logic of capital and supported by the decisions of the political, initial mass industrialisation was but a 'stage of urbanisation, a moment, an intermediary, an instrument' (Lefebvre, quoted in Buckley and Strauss 2016, 619) prior to the growth of this process to planetary urbanisation: 'Society has become completely urbanised' as a 'programmed everyday life in its appropriate urban setting… by the disintegration of the traditional town and the expansion of urbanism' (*UR*, 1, *ELMW*, 65). The urban here is a generalised concept, rather than one of particularities. The 'total, the global, is the totality of knowledge and the world as a totality' (quoted in Elden 2004a, 232), but if the concept ignores the singular everyday or the particular urban, treating the global as complete and subsistent, then it is a false totality, a '"detotalised totality", something which emphasises splitting and breaking, separation and the tragic, as a way of consecrating them. Thus, when *taken in isolation*, in other words speculatively, outside of *praxis*, the theories of alienation and totality become transformed into systems which are very remote from Marxism – into neo-Hegelianism' (*CELi*, 77). Totality is not 'a positive blueprint for utopia to be achieved, but only the frame of reference for totalising thought, which is the theoretical attempt to apprehend in praxis, from our own subject positions and objective locations, the historical course, present state, and possible futures of the world' (Goonewardena 2018, 462–63). So power emanating in, or rather, *from* the global level, crushes the expression from below. After addressing the **globalisation** debate and its non-identity with the global level, I explore the current capacities of this level's general, detotalising force over Finnish football as exhibited by the **state** in alliance with capital, and the **strategies** and logics they employ.

5.2.1. Globalisation

Globalisation can be conceptualised as the 'flattening' of the world collapsed together (Friedman 2005), crushing local and regional relations into global dynamics, evaporating borders of all kinds and prioritising 'flows' of people, ideas, commodities, capital over places (Castells 2010). Yet such an approach suffers from two linked problems: unless it defines change in the concrete then it is

purely abstract, an 'unreal universality', and to define change concretely requires the recognition that place still matters (cf. Sassen 1991). Capitalism has survived its internal contradictions by 'by occupying a space, by producing a space' (*SoC*, 21) on the world scale (a scale 'that has been produced or constituted by and for capitalism') as market (Elden 2004a, 236). But capital cannot be said to have expanded across the world if it is not evident in the world, in the local places of everyday life. 'The world market world involves a territorial distribution… of productive forces, flow and stocks… The world market is not detached from space; there is no 'deterritorialised' abstraction, even if some extra-territorial forces (the heads of some so-called supra-national businesses) operate there' (quoted in Elden 2004a, 234; 2008, 87). The concept of 'glocalisation', the 'combined process of globalisation and local-territorial reconfiguration' (Swyngedouw 1992, 61), is useful here in conceptualising globalisation as the growth of interdependencies between local and global. Thus, rather than the end of space, globalisation involves the production of new spaces, a 'reterritorialisation' of unevenness rather than flatness (Brenner 1999). The 'world market outlines configurations that are inscribed on the terrestrial surface of changing spaces' (*SSW*, 201). 'Social and political space on a world scale reproduces the local and national links'; it does not 'disappear in the course of growth and development: the *worldwide does not abolish the local*' (*SSW*, 218; *PoS*, 86).

Globalising tendencies are well-recognised in sport (e.g. Giulianotti and Robertson 2007; even considered 'taken for granted': Maguire 2015, 519), football (Finn and Giulianotti 2000; Giulianotti 1999, xi) and Finnish football (Itkonen and Nevala 2007a, 18; Szerovay, Itkonen, and Vehmas 2015). The increased transfers of foreign players to Finland and a town like Seinäjoki represented by a young man from the north-east of England (Jokiranta 2012; Naakka 2014; Tirri 2015), new international club ownership like the Chinese control over HIFK (Kylmänen 2019), and the change from Finnish public broadcaster YLE's single English Saturday afternoon match to the plethora of European leagues now available on television and online almost every day of the week (Tikander 2010, 5), are a few examples of the Finnish context. Such theses of globalisation often rely on identifying an *increased rate* of interdependencies – there were foreigners playing Finnish football long before now-pundit Keith 'Keke' Armstrong (at least in the 1950s), club-owning Chinese businessmen before HIFK (Itkonen and Nevala 2012, 577), and football as we know it today came to Finland in the 19th century from the decks of British ships. Yet qualitative changes

are plain to see, too, in the professionalisation of the game, or in the commodification of recreational football. And in the same vein as the above concretised conception of globalisation, rather than purely an inexorable process of broad homogenisation, of a McDonald's and a football field in every city, more useful approaches note the 'duality of glocality', and the converse heterogeneity that can arise from 'mutually implicative' homogeneity (Giulianotti and Robertson 2009, 46; Robertson 1995, 25). For example, the homogeneous laws of the game played with heterogeneous tactical approaches, seen recently in 2016 with Vaasan Palloseura's short passes or 2018 and SJK's inverted wing-backs. Or the same hour and a half of a training session on half an essentially identical football field enacted differently by one technically-minded coach and one tactically-oriented. The choice of football over ice hockey. Indeed, in many cases heterogeneity remains relatively fixed, with barefoot games in a Brazilian favela and under leggings and a jacket in Finnish winter, and homogenisation can open up new avenues for the expression of difference. Indeed it requires it.

The ongoing process (Brenner and Elden 2009, 22) of man becoming worldwide, of reaching towards the planetary scale, of *mondialisation*, then, is not a lost battle but should be seen as an opportunity, for the increased chance for variation, for a broader revolution. Globalisation as 'first, the seizing or comprehending of the world as a whole; and second the way in which political, economic or cultural acts apply to that' (Elden 2005, 9) shows that even if humanity's becoming worldwide is dominated by global, monolithically de-totalising forces, fragmenting through homogenisation, we have not yet succumbed to the threat of 'terricide' (*SSW*, 278). Mondialisation's 'conditions of possibility… cannot be reduced to linear causality or mechanistic determinism' (Elden 2004a, 234). When globalisation entails the 'simultaneity – the co-presence – of both universalising and particularising tendencies' (Robertson 1997; cf. 1995, 30), the battle is between the general and the particular (or indeed, the singular made meaningful). 'It is through these obstacles, these risks, that the *new way* appears… It is through these difficulties that new values are created' in a new everyday life in supremacy over the global and writ large on the world-scale (*SSW*, 285).

5.2.2. State Power, Strategies, and Abstract Logics

Any Marxist should be comfortable with the notion that the state acts according to the power dynamics which maintain it, and thus, in the modern world, in the interests of worldwide and global capital. Lefebvre expanded upon this theory, describing the 'new state form' (*SSW*, 124-137), a hyperproductivist combination of institutions, concepts, and officials termed SMP, the 'state mode of production' (*SSW*, 226), 'the mode of management and domination of the entire society by the state' (Elden 2004a, 223). Thus, 'economic growth and industrialisation have become self-legitimating, extending their effects to entire territories, regions, nations, and continents' (*UR*, 3). Capital's resilience and continued survival in the face of its internal contradictions can be explained by its successful exploitation of state power to achieve its ends directly, in a 'qualitative leap' from the relations of capitalism and the industrial era to 'statism' (*SSW*, 226): 'Today, the state has not only become responsible for growth but is its senior official too' (*SoC*, 106). With the support of the state, then, capital 'has succeeded in achieving "growth"' and it does this '*by occupying space, by producing a space*' (*SoC*, 21). The importance of space, the SMP's 'privileged instrument' (*SSW*, 226), in the state's execution of capital's directives is paramount.

Lefebvre identifies the state's two main strategies, the political, economic, and cultural ideologies that the SMP applies, by means of the production of space, to man's seizure of the world as a whole: '*neoliberalism* (which maximises the amount of initiatives allowed to private enterprise and, with respect to 'urbanism,' to developers and bankers); and *neo-dirigisme* [neomanagerialism], with its emphasis (at least superficially) on planning, and, in the urban domain, on the intervention of specialists and technocrats and state capitalism' (*UR*, 78). Neoliberal strategy is the prime theory of growth, 'that human well-being can be best advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade' (Harvey 2005, 2). Neomanagerial strategy, developed from managerial methods (themselves on a path from the whip and the end-of-shift bell to targets and the key performance indicator), defines administrative courses of action according to the technocratic rationality planning 'what works'. Both neoliberalism and neomanagerialism thus hide their ideological expression behind a cloak of effectiveness and efficiency but given that neomanagerialism's newness is the extension of managerialist techniques from the private to public sector, the consequent self-justifying monopolistic bureaucracy of government is in an initial tension with neoliberal access to and exploitation of the free market. Yet a compromise between

the two, as a 'hybrid Frankenstein… the neoliberal bureaucrat and the managerialist entrepreneur' (Merrifield 2006, 88), has left 'a field of action open for "free enterprise"' (*UR*, 158). Indeed, the public-private partnerships of today suggest a closer reconciliation: the state as entrepreneur (Harvey 1989). These strategies, using the abstract logic of the market, are evident in the organisational changes of Finnish sport and Finnish football.

On a strategic level, the state's role in structuring Finnish football has broadly followed the same changes as in other aspects of society in the restructuring of the Nordic welfare model. The 1990s recession and neoliberal replacement of Keynesian policies worldwide, not least through implementation of the neomanagerial doctrine, was directly in evidence in both Finland (cf. Temmes 1998) and Finnish sport, not least football. This relatively uncontested assault on the welfare state involved a radical realignment of government and civil society relations with a categorical increase in the dependence on markets and the private sport industry, with adult use of private sports facilities almost quadrupling to 15% (Suomen Kuntoliikuntaliitto 2010, 45) and average spend on private goods and services increasing by 74% (A. Laine 2015, 77) between 2000 and 2009. The increasing role of the private sector saw a corresponding decrease in the public sector's involvement in sport provision, as well as an increased reliance on voluntary clubs and associations to meet the demand not met by the market and reduce the pressure on and responsibility of the state (Alapuro 2010, 19).

However, the breaking down of established corporatist practices was facilitated by the government's increased executive and administrative control (i.e. governmentalisation, cf. Houlihan 2002; 2009). Formalised in 1993, the transfer of power away from sports organisations to the government took place at the local and national level (indeed somewhat also at the international level upon accession to the EU in 1995, cf. Itkonen and Salmikangas 2015, 552) and focused primarily on control over the national sports subsidy. The greater autonomy granted to municipalities meant that clubs did not have the influence on local decision-making they had previously enjoyed. Likewise, the national associations previously represented by the central organisations no longer had a collective voice in determining the government's allocation of funds. Instead, the government distributed the national subsidy directly to each of the national associations as well as the municipalities (Koski and Lämsä 2015, 435–36). Competition for this money became fierce, not least given its scarcity under the state's expense-reduction drive, thereby enabling

government to set the requirements more strictly and on its own ideological terms. The consequent model of management by results and performance-based funding highlighted the fragmentation of the sport movement, with separate domains receiving delineated funding: elite sport 25%, sport for all 25%, and youth sport 50%.

The change in policy from 'steering to effectiveness' had significant ramifications (Vehmas and Ilmanen 2017): the penetration of neomanagerial practices into sports clubs' own operations (Makinen et al. 2016, 270); stable annual support's replacement by the chase for the next project grant and its associated administrative workload (Itkonen and Salmikangas 2015, 552); and the increased focus on youth sport and sport for all (S. Collins 2010, 121). Despite the latter, this logic directly threatened the 'the traditional Nordic conception of civic activity as a value in itself' (Makinen et al. 2016, 270). The *Sport Act* was renewed in 1998, reinforcing the earlier legislation's call for increased access to sport as a social good and increasing its emphasis on health and wellbeing, and the Ministry of Education specified that facility construction funding criteria stress support for 'ordinary people in their daily environments' (Vuori, Lankenau, and Pratt 2004, 334), but these were in the context of decreasing state funding (S. Collins 2010, 121) and some municipalities struggling to meet the increased responsibilities alone.

The above 'emerging new strategic thinking, the transfer of the public sector from norm-based management to performance-based management, the economic recession of the 1990s, and Finland's intellectual convergence with Western Europe' (Makinen et al. 2016, 270) that had resulted in the breakdown of corporatist practices on the public administration side, was also evident in the reorganisation of the sports associations. These changes were based on 'growth, differentiation, and professionalisation' in an 'effort to streamline and professionalise the system and remove the political influence involved in the funding' (Lämsä 2012, 102; Vehmas and Ilmanen 2017, 116). The move towards the unification of sport actors begun in the 1980s led to the massive structural changes of 1993 which, contrary to their aims and to the European trend of centralisation, 'in practice created a more fragmented, multi-centre structure' (Lämsä 2012, 102). In football, Palloliitto lost its status as a central sports organisation, instead affiliating to the new 'obscure' (Lehtonen 2017) Finnish Physical Activity and Sports (SLU) 'community', a 'mere lobbying and service organisation' (Makinen et al. 2016) as a national association (Lämsä 2012, 102). Meanwhile, following the success of ice hockey's newly separate top division (and pre-empting the

English Premier League's own move), the top men's football division detached from Palloliitto's organisational control to form the Veikkausliiga, 'drawing a clear distinction between market-driven top sports and "ordinary" competitive sports' (Itkonen and Nevala 2012). The 'transfer of decisions concerning state support to the Council of State' meant that 'the power of the sports organisations as redistributors was reduced to near nothing' giving rise to a 'new lobbying culture' (Lämsä 2012, 102–3). This 'new reality was characterised by silo thinking as well as dispersed and detached organisational players. At this point, the entire sports movement as an institutional system began to slip into a crisis due to bureaucratisation and a number of structural, economic and operational overlaps' (Lehtonen 2017). This crisis is widely recognised, with 'lack of cooperation, coordination and shared practices, as well as unclear division of responsibilities' meant SLU provided 'weak support to shared interests or to a strong, united representative front towards the government' (Koski and Lämsä 2015, 436; Makinen et al. 2016, 270).

After a further period of volatility through the 2010s, in which a new national umbrella sports organisation (VALO) was formed as the SLU's successor to work in tandem with the Finnish Olympic Committee (OK) before merging with it three years later, in 2016, the OK is now the chief umbrella organisation of Finnish sport. The government, meanwhile, 'presents itself like a chameleon or commentator that, on one hand, exercises operative power through resource-based management but, on the other hand, does not bear responsibility' and uses its 'undefined relationship' with sports organisations to undermine their 'autonomy and decision-making ability' (Lehtonen 2017, 177). Revisions to the Sport Act in 2015, centring on 'working conditions, fair competition practices, the increased supply of sports services between different sectors, and advancing business opportunities', mean that municipalities, who provide three quarters of Finnish sport facilities, 'are now required to look to the private or third sectors, to tender for better or cheaper services' (Giulianotti et al. 2017, 8). With mention of the municipal, city governments, I must move on to the urban level of totality, but, broadly speaking, it is clear that the Finnish state has wholeheartedly embraced the strategies of neoliberalism and neomanagerialism, releasing the logic of the market upon the Finnish sporting world.

5.3. THE URBAN

The city always had relations with society as a whole, with its constituting elements… and with its history. It changes when society changes. Yet, the city's transformations are not the passive outcomes of changes in the social whole. The city also depends on relations of immediacy, of direct relations between persons and groups which make up society… Furthermore, it is not reduced to the organisation of these immediate and direct relations, nor its metamorphoses to their changes (*WoC*, 100-101).

In the modern world, the urban 'rises above the horizon, slowly occupies an epistemological field, and becomes the episteme of an epoch' (*UR*, 191). Thus, understanding the urban was not only required, but a necessary precondition for understanding society itself (Brenner and Schmid 2015; Prigge 2008). Urban space is both the battleground and the objective of politics and ideologies, 'the site and nexus of struggle', the 'terrain on which various strategies clash' (*UR*, 91, 87). Such a 'trial by space' describes how people and groups and their ideas and values attempt to make 'their mark on space' (*PoS*, 417). Thus, space is inherently political. With the trial of today heavily favouring capital through the current hegemony of neoliberalism, Lefebvre's radically critical *counter-attack* is given voice in the rallying cry of the 'right to the city', whereby city dwellers are given the freedom to express their poetic creativity, and footballers the chance to play the beautiful game. In this section, I briefly introduce the complexity of the urban level **mediation** between the global and everyday, before following Lefebvre's move to the urban as centralising difference**.**

5.3.1. Mediation

… an intermediary (mixed) between society, the state, global power and knowledge, institutions, and ideologies on the one hand and habiting on the other. Wherever the global attempts to govern the local, whenever generality attempts to absorb particularities, the middle level (mixed, M) comes into play: it is a terrain suitable for defence or attack, for struggle. (*UR*, 89)

The urban is a mediator between local and global, 'situated at an interface, halfway between what is called the *near* order… and the *far* order' (*WoC*, 101). The process of mediation is complex and conceptually relatively undeveloped (Kofman and Lebas 1996), although it is worth repeating that Lefebvre's conception of levels and their mediation was not meant as an explicit nor explicated interpretation of reality as much as a methodological tool to encourage appreciation of the complexity of reality. In particular, Lefebvre offers little by the way of explanation in regard to exactly *how* the urban level 'mediates' between the global and the everyday. Yet that was precisely his aim – the urban mediates in diverse ways. There is no handy typology to use, nor a path dependency to follow: we must be open and aware of the complexity of such processes so that we are ready to spot them when we see them in our research and analyses. Actors in Finnish football

whose operating level is primarily neither everyday nor general, as described in this chapter, at least clearly, include: the local municipal governments and their sports departments, which are responsible for the maintenance and provision for the vast majority of sports facilities; Palloliitto's four regional organisations; charities and some businesses, like field operators; and clubs themselves, to name a few. Each of these has a clear connection to the general level's logics, whether of the state or the market, and to the everyday experiences, with the encounters between people who represent these groups and organisations and those outside and others or even these people's own everyday lives: football association employees have lives too.

6. METAPHILOSOPHY

Superseding of philosophy, connection of its themes with modifications (which some people will call 'sociological' but which in our view overspill and encompass what is called sociological research) in praxis: this is a first sense of the word '*metaphilosophy*'. The project of a radical transformation of everydayness cannot be distinguished from the superseding of philosophy and its realisation. Philosophical man and the philosophical project of man do not accept the everyday. Everyday man, non-philosophical man, is opposed to philosophical man and the philosophical project of man. It is from their contradiction, their confrontation, that the mutation of both will emerge. (*M*, 113)

The specialised study of sport – the sports sciences – have pursued performance development according to the principle of marginal gains (the many hours of work to shave off a tenth of a second or increase maximum oxygen consumption by a millilitre, aiming to improve performance every day by a fraction of a percent) to great effect (cf. Dave Brailsford's work in British cycling). Yet such sports scientific approaches have largely ignored the broader context in which athletes perform on a daily basis, and certainly have little to say about people external to the training and coaching process. While specialisations do not claim domain on our world in general, none can wholly claim to be the means of critiquing our private lives, the city, or global forces even if they might have a strong grasp on some narrow aspect. 'Indeed, attention to the everyday undermines any such division of knowledge into discrete parcels of reality' (James 2011). Neither can specialisations genuinely claim to understand their narrow focus, when that focus is isolated from the whole.

Likewise, the conventional doctrines of traditional philosophy not only fail to grasp the breadth of social reality (an essentially impossible task), but actively reduce it through the systematisations I described in the last chapter, lost in a conceptual world and or ignoring the experienced world. An approach to totality and an understanding of life in sport as well as its transformation requires a radical departure from these tired tools, requiring instead a 'critical conscience' that enables contact with totality. 'The project of a radical transformation of everydayness cannot be distinguished from the superseding of philosophy and its realisation' (*M*, 113). The project is dialectical: 'Everyday man, non-philosophical man, is opposed to philosophical man and the philosophical project of man. It is from their contradiction, their confrontation, that the mutation of both will emerge' (*ibid.*). Metaphilosophy is closely related to totality, describing social relations in terms beyond philosophy and opening up to the whole. In his review of the English translation of the eponymous book, heralding what 'might well be the philosophical event of 2016', Andy Merrifield explains metaphilosophy's open appeal:

> Lefebvre was always slippery about what he meant by 'metaphilosophy'… He seems to suggest metaphilosophy is philosophising beyond pure philosophy, a sort of free play with big concepts, with thoughts

> above and beyond academic philosophy, beyond the institution of philosophy, a philosophy without borders and limits, a holistic approach to social, existential and political questions, a philosophy that realises itself through political practice. (2015, §2)

Thus, metaphilosophy frees itself from philosophy in the same way as urban society frees itself from the city, 'exploding' the myths and ideologies that contained it (cf. *UR*, 89, 165). The emancipation follows a humanist revolt against the capitalist copy of the exchange value, a 'rebellion of poiesis against mimesis and their bitter struggle. Or better, the conflict between style and culture. The term "rebellion" simply refers to the initiative and the starting point. The aim?... *appropriation*' (*M*, 304). Lefebvre calls us to appropriate the use value, 'to inaugurate an act of *poiesis*… to toss the glove in the face of established powers… rise up, in grand defiance, against systems and acquired forms, and to seize from them other forms' (quoted in Merrifield 2015, §3) and, as Merrifield describes, 'to declare war, to step up to the plate, to bat against *mimesis*, against crushing totality, to challenge it to a duel' (2015, §4). In his move 'towards a metaphilosophy of the urban', Merrifield explains that urban society is thus 'a *metaphilosophical category*… the arena where *praxis*, *poiesis*, and *mimesis* are brought to metaphilosophical judgment' (*ibid.*).

Finnish football helps us understand metaphilosophy: investigation of the 'forms, systems and structures considered are either products of praxis, or works of poiesis', or indeed the simulacra of mimesis (*M*, 1). Firstly through the artistic, **poietic** act that I introduced in the last chapter, of the player pulling off a piece of skill and scoring the goal in spite of the opposition or the cold, the coach creating a training session to develop her team while forced to work a day job or hear parents' complaints, or the fan writing a new song to celebrate his favourite player: *we all dream of a team of Kustis*. Secondly through the dialectical combination of thought and action that defines **praxis**, the moment of critique made material, as the coach gives space on his field to the children who could not afford to join a team. Thirdly, the **mimetic** acts of empty repetition, seen in the branding of professional players used by companies to sell their products, or in professional clubs' merchandise, the consumption of which is the closest that some fans ever get to their team.

6.1. POIESIS

> Either philosophy continues to isolate itself from poiesis and from praxis, or else it rediscovers and recognizes, lucidly, the link that was never completely broken. Then it supersedes itself in the name of a new project and a new poetic word, a creative word that has to be found, by restoring poiesis into praxis and above it. (*M*, 64–65)

So what exactly is this poetic creativity, this 'mode of making… the material world' (Elden 2016, xviii), this nebulous 'energy' (*DM*, 100)? Lefebvre warned that we should treat any substantive

answer with caution: 'this creative force just cannot be fully defined, cannot be exhaustively determined' (*DM*, 36; cf. *M*, 23). But this endless surplus, the 'residue' of difference, is the key to *life* engaging with nature as an artistic grasp at meaning and expression of understanding (balanced by nonsense and incomprehension) of our existence. For Lefebvre, the oeuvre, 'the work of art alone is the unity of the finite and the infinite, endlessly determined and living' (Schmid 2008, 32). The creation of art captures the overflow, the residue – 'an abundance and a superabundance' (Nietzsche 1913, 3) – of everyday life, and affirms it. 'Poetry is insufficient' – poiesis is not only the spoken, read, or written romantic lines of Baudelaire, Rimbaud (cf. *M*, 115–17). Instead, poiesis as the 'practical truth of orientated, bodily activity' (Simonsen 2005, 3) is the outcome of free and empowered man, such that poetic acts of creation are 'the "moments" and flashes of … presence that puncture' everyday life (Shields 1999, 66). This situationist-influenced and -influencing theory of poetic moments could be better understood through Lefebvre's student René Lourau's metaphor of 'the caress of an angel's wing, a passing fling with transcendence' (Elden 2004a, 171). For Lefebvre, together these poetic glimpses of reality, these moments of truth, compose a rhythmic concept of time, in which the linear rhythms of capitalist production and mimetic imitation kill the cyclical rhythms of humanity's creative expression, her appropriation of nature. Lefebvre's understanding of poiesis arises from the same sources and thinking as his focus on everyday life. So throughout this section I extend my exploration of some of the concepts introduced in the last chapter, especially creativity, the essence of poiesis. The two new concepts I introduce here are this **bodily truth**, given by poietic creation, and of the **momentary** and **rhythmic** conception of time that such an approach entails.

6.1.1. Bodily Truth

Nietzschean poetic truth 'is offered and grasped in an action-thought that creates it by saying it, that speaks truth by revealing it. Truth grasps the person who grasps it' (*M*, 124). The romantic affirmation of life – the saying of 'yes' to life[5] – in such moments of glory allows us to overcome this death and become Nietzsche's 'overman', 'who for Lefebvre is simply the human' (Elden 2004a, 75; cf. Shields 1999, 116 n.5). The Nietzschean human is an artist philosopher holding 'the

[5] cf. *The Will to Power* e.g. 'If we affirm one single moment, we thus affirm not only ourselves but all existence. For nothing is self-sufficient, neither in us ourselves nor in things; and if our soul has trembled with happiness and sounded like a harp string just once, all eternity was needed to produce this one event – and in this single moment of affirmation all eternity was called good, redeemed, justified, and affirmed.' (Nietzsche 1967, 532–33)

idea of a new alliance between poetry and philosophy, a unity that presupposes the radical critique of these two spiritual activities and their alienating separation' (*M*, 125). Lefebvre's praise of the Dadaist Tristan Tzara's ability to critique artistically without writing refers to this unity: 'His work was his life and his life was his work, that is, a certain way of living' (quoted by Shields 1999, 105). Lefebvre wanted to 'finish smashing the pieces' left by Dada, extending the 'attempt to think the aesthetic as a political determinant' (Grindon 2013, 209) beyond the pen, stage, microphone (or indeed street) of the artist, to all of us and throughout our everyday lives: 'The revival of art and of the meaning of art has a practical not a "cultural" aim; indeed, our cultural revolution has no purely "cultural" aims, but directs culture towards experience, towards the transfiguration of everyday life' (*ELMW*, 204).

I have already discussed the creative tendencies of sport, as 'a truly human form of art, for it is not just the product of man's abilities which is on display; it is man' (Kovich 1971, 42), but what does creativity in sport *mean*? The central node of meaning creation is the body. 'Man (the species): his physical and physiological being is indeed the measure of the world' (Lefebvre and Régulier 2004, 83). Lefebvre 'did not deliver a coherent theory of the body' (Simonsen 2005, 9; and e.g. Ross 1996b; Simpson 2008; Stewart 1995). He has even suffered stinging critiques for tending 'to negate the body in his work, which he sees as an ancillary concern' (Lutterbie 2001, 125). Yet Lefebvre does give a heavy, if often implicit, conception of the body as a 'generative and creative social body' that is 'an intrinsic part of social practice' (Simonsen 2005, 1). Bodies generate their own space, time, and, crucially, truth. 'The living organism has neither meaning or existence when considered in isolation from its extensions, from that space that it reaches and produces' (*PoS*, 196). Extension through gesture, unmediated and natural, or mediated by cultural factors and tools. The orientation of our bodies in space and time determine the symbolic meaning of that time and that space: whether a pass is high or low, left or right, or whether it is early or late, quick or slow, whether the training session risked injury by being too hard or suboptimal performance because it was too easy, whether it was fun or boring, defining how dangerous the tackle was or restrictive the tactical plan, whether we are made welcome into the dressing room or not. For our bodies are not in a static orientation – they move – and thus this orientation is always changing, reaching out to the world. This symmetry of the body – the duality of its internality and externality – also conceptualises distinct bodies, the Other:

> 'Space – *my* space – is not the context of which I constitute "textuality": instead, it is first of all *my* body, and then it is my body's counterpart or "other", its mirror-image or shadow; it is the shifting intersection between that which touches, penetrates, threatens or benefits my body on the one hand, and all other bodies on the other' (*PoS*, 184)

This 'mirror' describes how on the one hand 'each member of society relates itself to space, situates itself in it' and on the other 'space serves an intermediary role through which "one" seeks to apprehend something or somebody else' (Simonsen 2005, 5). To space, I add time, for the lived acts of situating and apprehending immediately imply time. In this sense, the body is both the site of becoming and the means to grasp it. Lefebvre writes: the researcher 'will not be obliged to *jump* from the inside to the outside of observed *bodies*; he should come to listen to them *as a whole* and unify them by taking his own rhythms as a reference: by integrating the outside with the inside and vice versa'. As Simpson describes, thus 'we are opened from without and within' to becoming (Simpson 2008, 812). There is no world of objective, only that which we experience. 'In everyday life, what is relative to social relations thus appears to every 'subject' as necessary and absolute, as essential and authentic… To become insomniac, love-struck or bulimic is to enter into another everydayness…' (Lefebvre and Régulier 2004, 75). In this way, Lefebvre is more interested with the meaning of poetic grasps at reality and the knowledge of eros – (sensual knowledge) than logos (logical knowledge), to understand the everyday – for what is rational about insomnia, love, or bulimia? Lefebvre discusses Nietzsche's tale of Dionysus against Apollo, which 'echoes the dual aspect of the living being and its relationship to space' (*PoS*, 178). The living heart of this dual aspect is the battle between *logos* and *anti-logos*.

> The Logos makes inventories, classifies, arranges: it cultivates knowledge and presses it into the service of power. Nietzsche's Grand Desire, by contrast, seeks to overcome divisions - divisions between work and product, between repetitive and differential, or between needs and desires. (PoS, 391-2)

'On the side of the Logos is rationality' (*PoS*, 392) and meanwhile, Nietzsche's 'grand desire' of anti-logos, Lefebvre's *eros*, 'finds its embodiment in art, poetry, music, play and festival' (Merrifield 1995, 297). In following Dionysus, Lefebvre is 'walking a knife-edge path between coherent, ordered, dialectical logic (Logos) and irrational Dionysian spontaneity and creativity (Anti-Logos)', which is also a key part of dialectical logic, inspiring the diverse, chaotic side of existence (Merrifield 2006, 117; cf. 1995).

Several significant sports science debates are of interest here. The first concerns the value and validity of subjective measurement of athletes, whether of their workloads or recovery processes, performance, position, or other factors of their involvement in sport, even if the validity

of such methods is now well-respected (cf. Saw, Main, and Gastin 2015). For example, the core question to players about workload (based on the Rating of Perceived Exertion scale, Borg 1982) in my company's athlete monitoring system, Quanter: 'How physically/mentally hard was training?'. Subjective methods are held in contrast to so-called objective methods that tend to use devices like heart rate monitors and GPS trackers. Finland was an early pioneer in sports technology, the company Polar Electro developing the first wireless heart rate monitors in the late 1970s, and a range of new sensors from other Finnish companies now populate the market. The search for objective fact and almost theological subscription to 'objective data' from some quarters belies the fact that such numbers must be interpreted, rather than taken as fact, and may have different meanings for different players (or even the same player on a different day). Further, heart rate monitors tend to miss the impact of short bursts of speed (the physiological response does not kick in quickly enough) while the narrow tracking of the number of sprints a player performs or distance she covers ignores the range of other factors that affect a body's overall workload. If the athlete's body is 'telling' her that she is close to breaking down and suffering an injury, it pays to take heed, whatever the numbers say, if relevant ones are even available. And my argument for a holistic approach that starts from subjective experience here is without even getting to the technical level of such devices' accuracy. Although one problem in European elite football, not yet in Finland, of the Video Assistant Referee, shows that even with the highest framerate and every angle available, it is still possible for fans to disagree on an offside decision. Another relevant sports science debate concerns the difference between 'biological age' and 'chronological age', referring to the different rates of growth experienced by different people and different bodily systems of the same person (Lloyd et al. 2014) and the importance of adapting training programmes accordingly (T. Laine, Kalaja, and Mero 2016). The takeaway here is that individual bodies define the appropriateness of action.

Away from the rarefied atmosphere of some areas of sports science and back to the gritty, or muddy field of the sports sociologist: a player's everyday enjoyment of the game can come from surprising situations, despite a shot not physically crossing the goal line, a heavy defeat or other failure to achieve, or enjoyment against a different experience, a negative one, such as pain. A player can prove forces of the general level wrong with the creative power of their body – witness the girl scoring goals against the boys or the immigrant not in a club who takes a corner of

someone's pitch to play with his friend – or a team through their collective strength – see Atletico Malmi competing with a team of professionals and reliving the match at every sauna night or the Finnish national team's triumphal qualification for Euro 2020 against the odds, finally justifying footballers' effort. Mediated in the urban, where the players and spectators meet, whether for a game on the pitch, rented from the city government or de facto appropriated, or for the celebrations in the market square. Herein lies Lefebvre's resolution of the subjective-objective conflict in which he finds himself: art can be more meaningful, show more truth, than science. Experiencing truth as *eros* has more democratic power to change the world than truth as the abstract logic of *logos*, prone to its ideological domination. So it is up to the players, coaches, supporters, and all football people to pull together and reverse the urban's ideological dominance over the everyday by living a full life of critique, whether kicking a ball to a teammate, planning a training session, or watching a match. Footballers suffering from abstractions of the game could do well to follow the example of the French in 1968[6]: Occupy Bollis! (the historic central Helsinki 'ball fields' and associated buildings, including the headquarters of the Finnish Football Association), or otherwise take over an exclusive private field, and play the game as they want, free from the clutches of capital and other abstract ideologies.

6.1.2. Moments and Rhythms

The poietic act is created in the fleeting moment, with the 'moment' thus bearing a close relationship to the 'situations' of the Situationist International. While the intense relationship between Lefebvre and Debord did not last, (cf. Merrifield 2006; Shields 1999; Goonewardena 2008; Gardiner 2009; Trebitsch 2005, xi–xii), this similarity was the initial 'basis of our understanding' (Lefebvre 1983). For the situationists, the means of liberation were to be found in construction of situations: 'Moments constructed as "situations" can be considered moments of rupture, of acceleration, *revolutions in individual everyday life*' (SI 1960). Lefebvre explains the similarity of the moment to situations: 'the empty repetitions of modern life, of work and spectacle, could be [hijacked] into the creation of Situations, into abstract forms that could be infused with unlimited

[6] That is, the French footballers occupying the football federation headquarters, and the extraordinary resistance against the alienation of capital's abstraction of football, or at least 'against the mechanistic style of play favoured by the national manager, Boulougne, and a plea for greater individuality to be encouraged' (Reader and Wadia 2016, 96) in their cry of 'football to the footballers': '… give back to the 600,000 French footballers and their thousands of friends what belongs to them: football. Which the pontiffs of the Federation have expropriated from them in order to serve their egotistical interests as sports profiteers… Free football from the tutelage of the money of the pathetic pretend-patrons who are at the root of the decay of football' (Football Action Committee 1968).

content' (quoted by Shields 1999, 105), while Debord explained that Lefebvre's theory of moments had 'revealed many of the fundamental conditions of the new field of action across which a revolutionary culture may now proceed' (SI 1960). The moment is the means of expressing creativity through the trivial: it 'must be capable of opening a window on supercession, and of demonstrating how we may resolve the age-old conflict between the everyday and tragedy, and between triviality and Festival' and it 'overcomes the opposition between the serious (ethical) and the frivolous (aesthetic), as likewise that between the everyday and that which is noble, elevated, superior (cultural)' (*CELii*, 358, *M*, 141-42). To understand the moment is to '*attempt to achieve the total realisation of a possibility'* (*CELii*, 348). Thus, the 'moment moves towards totality – its immanent limit – through real content's assertion of itself in all its particularity' (Grindon 2013, 212). Here 'is the place where past and future collide in the present moment' (Elden 2004a, 172).

Watching from the sideline as Koopa's 'fireball' sails into the top corner for seemingly an eternity; 'Stop! Stand still!' – halting the exercise in training to make a coaching point and engender some reaction from the players (focused or disengaged) before – 'Go!' and the ball moves again; emptying the black plastic pellets into the bin and swearing as some miss and I have to pick them up from the floor again; the conversation with the crying player who did not make it into the team and the struggle to find the ways to encourage him; telling the player and his disappointed brother that they have to get off the pitch, now, please, because we have a training session booked and we need the space: these are some of an uncountable number of everyday moments I have experienced. The challenge is of course to work up from them to a critique. Lefebvre's conception of the moment makes a clear break from the Marxist linear conception of time, of history as an accumulation of past events heading toward a final destination. In contrast we have a wild, seemingly unstructured, notion of momentary time as creating everyday life.

But there is structure, or rather, rhythm. 'Everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy, there is a rhythm' (*R*, 15). Lefebvre bases his conception of time on Nietzsche, whose understanding of time had nothing to do with Marx's teleological principles. Together, moments (more or less creative, but always with an expenditure of energy), are the temporal elements which reveal 'rhythms'. While his status as an amateur musician and patron of the arts forms an important background to Lefebvre, and he repeatedly refers to musical metaphors in his elaboration of 'rhythm', his conception of rhythm nevertheless

goes well beyond sound. The central component of rhythm is *returning movement*. As he describes:

> For there to be a rhythm, strong times and weak times, which *return* in accordance with a rule or law – long and short times, recurring in a recognisable way, stops, silences, blanks, resumptions and intervals in accordance with regularity, must appear in a *movement*. Rhythm therefore brings with it a differentiated time, a qualified duration. (*R*, 78, emphases added)

In this 'differentiated time', each repetition – or 'return' – is a different act, more or less creative. 'No rhythm is without repetition in time and in space… Whence the relation between repetition and difference… When it concerns the everyday, … there is always something new and unforeseen that introduces itself into the repetitive: difference ' (Lefebvre and Régulier 2004, 78). This understanding of repetition and difference in rhythm is based on Lefebvre's conception of dialectical logic. For the purposes here, I describe this logic as novel, contrasting with the conventional logic of 1=1=1 (cf. Elden 2004a; Vojcic 2014). For Lefebvre, 1≠1≠1. While they are all '1's, the first is the first, the second is the second, and the third is the third: the football drill on one day is not the same as the same drill on another day, for all their similarities. Through these concepts of repetition and difference, we are starting to open up to why the repetitive everyday is so important. The 'emergence of difference within the repetition' (Simpson 2008, 814) is the expression of man's creative power and his centrality to the totality of reality. We should, however, treat such a vague assertions with caution. Panu Lehtovuori and Hille Koskela, are correctly suspicious for the fact that 'the ways in which small and mundane everyday acts simultaneously sustain urban space and are the "site" of its change remains poorly developed' (2013, 126). I explore the temporal aspect of creativity's critique of repetition in the section on mimesis later in this chapter.

There is a plurality of rhythms, polyrhythmia, that have various possible relationships to each other: *eurhythmia* (harmony) and *arrhythmia* (disharmony) and *isorhythmia* (equivalence). The 'bundle of rhythms' embodied by the body in and across each of its different parts (Lefebvre and Régulier 2004, 80) is a useful initial example to describe polyrhythmia, with its 'plenitude of different but associated rhythms' (Kärrholm 2009, 432). The legs might be tired, but the mind knows there are still ten minutes to play, and you are desperate for the equalising goal. More simply, we should think about our heartbeat, footsteps, sleep, hunger, and so on as examples of bodily rhythms. However, as I discovered in my pilot 'rhythmanalytical' research (following Lefebvre 2004a; for good examples using this method, see also Kärrholm 2009; Lehtovuori and

Koskela 2013; Edensor and Larsen 2017; Simpson 2008), there can often be limited immediate benefit to a narrow focus on the body. Many rhythms emanate from human beings, but there are others, and even the ripples from the ones that do take on far broader modulations: the 90 minutes of a match, in a two hour shift on the football field, with the journey to and from the ground, on a Saturday morning of a training week, in the first week of the season, and so on. Not to mention the more obviously political rhythms, like the annual budget meeting, the periodic allocation of pitch shifts, the coach's contract. *Eurhythmia* describes the state of polyrhythmia whereby rhythms are in harmony. The player has been sleeping well and awake for long enough to be alert, had breakfast and had time to digest it, is relaxed and at a good low resting heart rate, has had time to go through the tactical plan and visualise her goals: she is ready for the match. All the teams in the club received training shifts for the winter from the municipal government and private sources, there are no conflicts with coaches' other teams' sessions or responsibilities, there is enough time for the players after school to eat and travel to the pitch. *Arrhythmia* represents a disruption of rhythms, a jarring or discord. She is about to score that equalising goal, only for an opponent to slide in across her path, missing the ball but catching her leg, injuring her and putting the game and her body into a state of arrhythmia. The workloads of the training programme, not appropriately adapted to the player's needs, causing the overuse muscle injury. *Isorhythmia* describes the rare equivalence of rhythm like when 'under the direction of the conductor's baton (his magic wand) a rhythm falls into place and extends over all the performers' (*R*, 86). The players in states of 'flow', the football team in sync, every movement and every pass into space at the right time, is a poietic oeuvre, proof of the collective's power to overcome an opponent, and is certainly a joy to watch.

6.2. PRAXIS

> Thought only comprehends the everyday if there is unease and refusal, practical desire and will to change it. In order to know and understand it, we have to restore into a whole this reality that is both fragmentary and monotonous. We have to want, obscurely or clearly, to reconstruct a totality. *Knowledge in act expresses itself in images, those of a metamorphosed life* (*M*, 110, emphasis added)

The humanism of poiesis should be clear, but what is the critique involved in praxis? The concept of praxis – broadly: the synthesis of theory and practice, sometimes more theoretical, sometimes more practical, and more or less essentially dialectical – dates back to the Ancient Greek notion of a theoretical progression (especially in argument and debate, dialectical or otherwise), travels up through Hegel's conceptual movement of becoming, and lands back down on Marx's grounded

attempt to grasp the totality of humanity's material relations, of concrete social practice, work, labour, 'life activity, productive life itself' (Marx 1932, 31). Lefebvre's praxis is clearly in the latter, materialist approach, describing the 'practical relations inherent in organised human existence… concrete conditions of existence for cultures or ways of life' (*DM*, 73), for the 'essence of man is social, and the essence of society is praxis – acts, courses of action, interaction' (*SoM*, 34). 'Praxis reveals an extreme complexity on very varied levels' of a totality of totalities involving 'both material production and spiritual production, the production of means and the production of ends, of goods and of needs' (*CELii*, 236–37). The concept of praxis is thus dialectical (synthesising theory and practice) and a vital concept for the concretisation of totality: 'There can be no pure abstraction. The abstract is also concrete, and the concrete ... is also abstract. All that exists for us is the concrete abstract' (*DM*, 76). Lefebvre's understanding of praxis (as widely inclusive of all social actions, concrete in their 'manifestation' of our 'practical' relations, and constitutive of our society) thus follows Marx dialectical treatment of Hegel, that 'continues', 'breaks', 'extends', and 'transforms' the idealist's thought. The cult of spirit was too unreal, the attempt for an individual 'to dominate the universe by thought' doomed to mysticism even as Hegel sought to demystify consciousness (*CELi*, 69). Rather: 'The successful unmasking of *things* in order to reveal (social) relationships – such was Marx's great achievement' (*PoS*, 81).

'Thanks to [praxis], thought and feeling are once again brought into accord with reality' (*SoM*, 53). Praxis is not just the material sense of ideal rationality. It also includes that living sensuousness, that creative poiesis. We should investigate the 'relationships between the human and the natural within praxis, in the most poietic (creative) part of praxis, as well as in the everyday and repetitive part' (*M*, 295). Poiesis is in fact *vital* to praxis. As described earlier, the movement of the dialectic, sublation, is spurred by a creative, poetic act. Poiesis is thus the generative power of praxis: 'The act that inaugurates knowledge and praxis is poietic: simultaneous creator of concepts and images, knowledge and dream' (*M*, 110). prompting the movement of the dialectic (sublation). 'The third term instantly deconstructs static oppositions or dualisms, and adds a fluid dimension to social process' (Gottdiener 1993, 130). While Marx never wrote 'Art is the greatest joy man gives himself', Lefebvre's invention of the quote shows something of the creative potential of these *things*. In this section, I describe praxis as **transformative action** and **thought**.

6.2.1. Transformative Action

Lefebvre describes the basic principle of movement as dependent on and inherent to praxis, which denotes:

> 'growth (technological, economic) [and] (social) development … as determined and yet open onto the possible, as inexhaustible in the face of analysis… Praxis as site and origin of concepts… would then be the human 'real': on condition that it is separated neither from history and historical tendencies, nor from the possible' (*M*, 7).

Marx had 'rejected the husk of the system, ugly and rigid, that enveloped this germ of concrete thought, restoring it to its integrity; he refuted the inversion by which Hegel destroyed what he had won and killed his own conquest' (*M*, 35). Following Marx's Eleventh Thesis on Feuerbach[7], changing praxis is the revolution of our existence, 'this reality that is so complex and rich' (*M*, 156) – no abstract system can hold it. Changing praxis involves a material sublation: the 'resolution of theoretical antitheses is possible only in a practical way, by virtue of man's practical energy' (Marx 1932). Marx's opening of the definition of praxis beyond the 'confusions' of the word 'practice' extended to all our social relations, draws the focus back onto it as its prime content – material social practice – as 'first and foremost *act*, dialectical relation between man and nature, consciousness and things… These active relationships taken as a whole make it possible to delimit the concept of praxis (social action)' (*SoM*, 45, 5). As Trebitsch describes, for Lefebvre '"Everyday man" is the man of praxis, and praxis alone will enable him to free himself from alienation and attain the concrete totality of the "total man", at one and the same time the subject and the object of his becoming' (Trebitsch 1991, xx). Marx's materialist dialectic approaches our real reciprocal relations, which together constitute society, and it begins meaningful critique of this totality.

6.2.2. (And) Transformative Thought

Changing praxis is changing social thought and changing the social world: 'praxis is what introduces concrete (dialectical) intelligibility into social relations' whereby 'knowledge has to pass by way of a praxis of transformation' (*SoM*, 53; *M*, 110). Indeed the introduction of a dialectical understanding to social relations is born of these very same relations, and crucially their contradictions: 'dialectical reason arises precisely from the supposed irrationality constituted by nature, by practical and social activity, by man as he is in everyday life' (*CELi*, 69). 'It is on the basis of conscious revolutionary praxis that thought and action are articulated dialectically, and that

[7] 'The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it'

knowledge "reflects" praxis, i.e., is constituted as reflection on praxis' (*SoM*, 86). This mutual birth occurs because disalienating dialectical reason is practical, material, grounded in the real: 'If the future of man is determined by the appropriation of his being, "nature", the representation that separates man from his being must first be refuted; it is refuted in praxis. The split is superseded in action' (*M*, 88). Thinking dialectically, critiquing his private and social existence, 'Man, both as individual and as member of society, thus comes to look upon himself as a historical being: his "essence" is historical and unfolds within history. He constitutes, creates, produces himself in the domain of praxis. There is nothing in him that is not a product of interaction among individuals, groups, classes, societies' (*SoM*, 18). Our very human becoming (or becoming humanity) is not just a social product, but social praxis itself.

It is the everyday 'science of man – knowledge – which has blazed the trail for our consciousness' (*CELi*, 133). It is through such 'knowledge that the proletarian liberates himself and begins actively superseding his conditions' (*CELi*, 144). What knowledge and from where? So this critical knowledge is a '"theory of tactics and strategies", tactics referring to the everyday, to stagnant and trivial reality, and strategy to the domain of action and decision-making' (Trebitsch 2002, xxv; cf. *CELi*, 132–39), but the role of poiesis in generating praxis means that these are no rarefied plans – they are naturally immanent, appropriating the triviality of the world around us: 'Critique of everyday life encompasses a critique of art by the everyday and a critique of the everyday by art… of the political realms by everyday social practice and vice versa… of the real by the imaginary and by what is possible, and vice versa' (*CELii*, 19). As Mendieta describes, 'Emancipation to be true must not only occur at the level of the modes of production and the superstructural level of ideology, it must occur at the mundane and trivial levels in such a way that we are able to feel this emancipation in the way we walk, have sex, eat and engage in the feast of social coexistence' (Mendieta 2008, 150). Thus the 'total critique of totality' (*CELii*, 27) becomes an ethic for collective human existence, a dialectical praxis generated and given strength by expressions of our poietic power, our own lives made revolutionary out of the necessity to fight the alienation in our everyday world.

*

As members of the football community, of society as a whole, our moral obligation is to think, act, and above all *live* for the betterment of the community (without sacrificing our own individuality).

We have to want to critique society, we have to want to engage with the whole. We have to go out tomorrow morning to the next training session, or to the match on Saturday, and *reach out* to other people and towards the society that we want to live in.

6.3. MIMESIS

> We ascribe to mimesis all activity that proceeds according to a form, and that moreover adds to its form. It depends then on an initial grasp, perception or intuition of the form. Subsequently it conforms to a greater or lesser extent. It may well give rise to a formalism that can distort the use and function of the form. It can also give rise to a conformism, apogee and paroxysm of mimesis. (*M*, 10)

I have outlined Lefebvre's metaphilosophy, superseding philosophy, as consisting of humanist *poiesis* generating critical *praxis*, living life as a critique of the world and changing it for the better. According to the triadic anti-structure of Lefebvre's dialectic, this third metaphilosophical term mediates poiesis and praxis: *mimesis*. Mimesis is not just repetition, imitation, miming (as poiesis is not just poetry, nor praxis just practice). The mimetic copy is a level of praxis itself but held in opposition to the creative power of poiesis. The repetitive aspect of mimesis is in relation to a form, divorcing the activity from its content, and thus can be understood in close relation to the concept of fetishisation, perversely repeating an abstraction as a false human creation. Before applying the concept of mimesis to sport, mimesis bears exploring alongside the urban.

The problem with *the urban* as a concept is that, in only defining the city's centrality, its assemblance, it is thus an empty signifier. 'The emptiness of urban space is that of a form of commodity but also that of an empty signifier onto which the desire for difference is projected, including the desire for a different space and a different time expressed in the practices of habitation in the *pavillon*. In other words, the urban is as much an instrument of capitalist production and reproduction as it is a social resource for a different – "differential" – space' (Stanek 2011b, 164). When aligned with poiesis, the urban as *oeuvre* gives rise to our collective difference, equality, and unity. When aligned with mimesis to the exclusion of poiesis, the urban is *urbanisation*, the spread of the homogenous, fragmented, and hierarchical city: the same the world over, broken up and built for another euro (or equivalent) and arranged according to wealth. Urbanisation copies the form of fetishised commodity – the space of the city – subjects it to exchange value, and so reifies man (although not completely) under her mirror image of a falsely separate individualism. The city at the apex of technology, which 'mingled initially with praxis and poiesis… frees itself and becomes predominant. It relegates the other aspects of praxis to illusion or shadow. Analogy and simulation

penetrate the real and even establish it' (*M*, 189). The urban is vulnerable, but that vulnerability is its potential, its vitality its chance of death but also its fertility.

> The urban is, therefore, pure form: a place of encounter, assembly, simultaneity. This form has no specific content, but is a centre of attraction and life. It is an abstraction, but unlike a metaphysical entity, the urban is a concrete abstraction, associated with practice. Living creatures, the products of industry, technology and wealth, works of culture, ways of living, situations, the modulations and ruptures of the everyday – the urban *accumulates* all content. But it is more than and different from accumulation. Its contents (things, objects, people, situations) are mutually exclusive because they are diverse, but inclusive because they are brought together and imply their mutual presence. The urban is both form and receptacle, void and plenitude, superobject and nonobject, supraconsciousness and the totality of consciousnesses. It is associated with the *logic of form* and with the *dialectic of content* (*UR*, 118–19)

The free form of the urban is characterised by a concentrated collection of content. Instances of this diversity of particular but overlapping contents in dialectical relation to their forms and structures are actual examples of social reality in the different practices, ideas, and experiences defined by the city.

Flat inauthentic copies can be found throughout Finnish football: the preference for watching the European giants on television rather than watching the local team in the flesh, eating up the face of Lionel Messi and ordering the Barcelona shirt; the plastic artificial football field, produced in strips in a factory, transported to old grass pitches across the country, and put back together, the same as the other ones; the 'dive' in a football match, simulating a foul to win a free kick; the Select brand football, favoured in the Nordics, held in the mesh of a Nike rucksack, both ones of tens of thousands off a production line.

6.3.1. Linearity and cyclicality

Yet just as abstraction is not inherently dominating, neither are our mimetic acts ever a completely empty praxis, devoid of poiesis, purely a reflection of creation with man on the same linear production line for all eternity, the city a completely (re)constructed carbon copy. Mimesis 'takes place in mechanisms constructed by human thought, reproduces the first as well as adding something to it' (*M*, 161). Mimesis will always bring something different in the repetition because it gives a new piece of content. A copy yes, but not the same piece as before; because something made it happen again. Not just the flux of Heraclitus but a human origin for each repeated ripple, an uncertainty about what is coming downstream, and an appeal to where we want to direct the current next. The critical key is in the relationship, the dynamic distance between each dimension of the dialectic of praxis, mimesis, and poiesis. The urban form of a praxis united under poiesis represents utopia, the imagined (im)perfection whereby each repetition of an act is full of new life,

each new oeuvre's radicality being their similarity, and where our daily routines still give us the time and space to act spontaneously, naturally, creatively.

Lefebvre characterises that distance in the dialectic temporally, as the difference between cyclical and linear rhythms, 'two very different modalities of the repetitive' (*CELiii*, 11). The linear refers to the 'monotonous and tiring … daily grind, the routine' which dominates modern capitalist society (*R*, 30). The cyclical, on the other hand, 'underlies all quotidian and cosmic duration. Everyday life is composed of cycles within wider cycles; beginnings and recapitulations and rebirths' that originate 'in nature: days, nights, seasons, the waves and tides of the sea, monthly cycles etc' (*ELMW*, 6; *R*, 8). The critical element is clear here. The linear is 'exhausting and tedious, while the return of a cycle has the appearance of an event and an advent' (Lefebvre and Régulier 2004, 73). Succinctly described by musicologist Jason Eastwood, the linear 'basically flatlines through existence with no beginning and end, it never dies' (Eastwood 2013, 18). Although I must emphasise, neither does it ever live. The earlier described concept of creation and life can be used to understand the natural rhythm of a cycle 'beginning again' (*R*, 90), for 'nature creates and does not produce' (*PoS*, 70). As cyclical rhythms are poietic creations, linear rhythms are thus mimetic productions. The linear is the attempted grasping *of* time and is thus reductive, even murderous, of man, of nature, and of becoming.

There are many natural cycles in sport: the heartbeat; the sporting season tied up with the season of the weather and year; the period of recovery after exercise, the mind and body regeneration of sleeping, eating, drinking, and stretching; the free movement of the body; the rain, snow, and sometimes sun; the round football, kicked, its bouncing and spinning frequency degrading until it comes to a stop. Meanwhile, linear rhythms include: the weekend matches after the working week and the weeknight training sessions broken into 60 minutes or 90 minutes slots for each team, rushed off when the new one arrives, even if the session's end-game is in full flow; the monthly mileage expenses claim and salary deposit; the humming floodlights bearing down on the field; the newly produced football dropping off the production line into its plastic packaging, followed by another, and another.

It is too simple to characterise the linear *product* as simply that 'from human activity' (*R*, 8). Put in the context of the creative power of man, not all consequences of human activity are *products*. There are also the far more valuable *creations* or oeuvres. Lefebvre is romantic, even

'idyllic' in his distinction between the cyclical and the linear (Simpson 2008). However, the linear and the cyclical is only Lefebvre's *framework* for critique of everyday life. As Stuart Elden reminds us, Lefebvre uses rhythm in his critique as 'a mode of analysis – a *tool* of analysis rather than just an *object* of it' (2004b, xii). In this light, the positive and negative connotations of the cyclical and linear are the very point. The first refers to creative man (or just man), the second to alienated man. This is the dichotomy of normativity: good and bad. Yes the linear is both reified as a thing and 'chronic' (Simpson 2008) as never beginning nor ending, but we should not fetishise it – that of a (chronic) thing having terminally *supernatural* proportions. Simpson cites the street performance artist of his research, who benefited from the assigned schedule of performances despite receiving a conventionally unwanted slot, as evidence of a positive linear rhythm. I argue he is misplaced. The street artist's success is precisely the creative act of resistance which man is capable of accomplishing, overcoming the linear conceived time of his assigned slot. The slot on the football field can be subject to similar bureaucratic vagaries, but every session is a new one full of potential. The football match is a regular set of two halves of 45 minutes, but indeed football is a 'game of two halves' where one can be very different from the other, and anyway the footballer can accomplish all sorts of beauty in half a second. A player might kick a ball a few hundred thousand times in her life, but the first kick will be very different from the last – indeed repetition is key component of learning and development. The cyclical rain and snow, kept away from interfering on the pitch by the overarching bubble, artificial grass, or tractor and plough, could otherwise be preventing the game from being played.

Therefore, linear rhythms are not – nor for the supremacy of creation and irrepressibility of the cyclical can they be – the total 'flatlines' described by Eastwood. Are they pure abstractions? No, for there is nothing but experiencing the concrete abstract! No thing can be a total flatline – it is still experienced and thus suffused and resounding with life, however dim or quiet. Instead, I argue that to the extent that linear rhythms neither die nor live, their reductions *tend towards* the death of the natural, the 'progressive crushing of rhythms and cycles by linear repetition' (*CEL*iii, 130). Linearity is the denial of difference in repetition. It is telling that Lefebvre offers a range of dyadic relations – a 'panoply (magnificent array) of methodological utilised categories (concepts) and oppositions': repetition-difference, mechanical-organic, discovery-creation, linear-cyclical, continuous-discontinuous, quantitative-qualitative (*R*, 9). I take each dyad to refer to the core

dialectical opposition of the poietic difference of life and mimetic repetition of death. Yet this dialectical fight can never be fully to death – there is always repetition in difference and vice versa; the dialectical movement continues towards or away from becoming. So there will always be a plurality of rhythms whereby sometimes the lived *cycle* takes prominence and at other times the conceived *line* dominates.

7. ALIENATION

Anyone who wishes to found an ethic – and his personal ethic – on the notion of alienation needs to have a precise and analytic tool and a consciousness that has been finely honed by the dialectic at his disposal. Only then will he be able to find his way through the labyrinth which is all social life and through the jungle which is bourgeois society; only then will he distinguish between what is 'life-enhancing' and what is obscurantist and static in his life. Thus everyone may perhaps be able tightly to embrace their own lives, and to love them, without evading any task, fruitful conflict, or useful risk. (*CELi*, 83)

Sport in the jungle of bourgeois society is a site of alienation: a collection of practices, ideas, and experiences that includes ones which reduce, split, or remove the life-enhancing humanity from the act, thought, or feeling. Sport in the totality reflects the totality, such that the unspecialised social activities in and around sport (travelling to a place, talking with a friend) contain the alienating forces evident in the whole, but sport also alienates much closer to, even in the games themselves, making alienation in sport is especially invidious, given the life-enhancing label that it holds. The price on play and the commodity of competition; exclusion from participation (or at least authentic participation where the player stays true to themself) through classism, racism, sexism, homophobia, ableism, and ageism; and the primacy of competition against participation, and the consequent incentive to dope, cheat, bend the rules. And anyway, the ethic of a person in sport ought to be not only against alienation in sport, but of sport.

The 'prophet of alienation' (Merrifield 2006, xxxii), Lefebvre describes his *Critique* trilogy as 'built entirely around Marx's concept of alienation (*CELi*, 3), but his 'rejection of the inauthentic and the alienated, and an unearthing of the human which still lies buried therein' (Trebitsch 1991, xxiv) is evident throughout his entire oeuvre. Alienation is the 'fixing of human activity within an alien reality which is at one and the same time crudely material and yet abstract' resulting in the 'dismembered and dissociated human being' *(WoC, 143; CELi, 176)*. The practical power of this abstraction is 'a leitmotif that runs throughout the whole of Lefebvre's work' (Schmid 2008, 32) and is inextricable from the diverse conceptions of alienation that Lefebvre espouses (and certainly chief among those concepts related to it). Alienation's multi-faceted feature of 'many-sided strangeness' (*CELi*, 20) comes largely from the three dimensions of Lefebvre's dialectic, from his revealing and extending of the humanism in Marx. I deal with these various facets of alienation and disalienation by and their application to sport by examining: Lefebvre's **revolutionary romantic** humanism, asserting lived experience (through the festival, from the grassroots, or just, sometimes, by heavy drinking) against the alienation that estranges us from our creative humanity; his critical handling of the concept of **fetishised concrete abstraction**, like the commodity, money, and

capital, that dominate the world; and the urban instantiations of these abstractions and the urban possibility for overcoming them in **abstract space and utopia**.

7.1. Revolutionary Romance

Lefebvre's engagement with Heidegger supported his humanism with the beginnings of an understanding of our fundamental engagement with the social world, informed by Hegel's rational movement of our self-conscious spirit. Expressions of our lives are also coloured by the creative power and anguish ascribed to us by Nietzsche, and led by the avant-garde, towards the future; 'man in thrall' not 'to the past', but 'to the possible' (*RR*, 293). Together, they influence many of his key concepts, turning the focus in this thesis on to man as a powerfully creative, active engager with the everyday world, living (bodily) the rhythms and moments of a unique but collective life, a humanist hope for the horizon. Humanist knowledge here is, in part, a subjective *anti-logos* and revolutionary art of *eros*, touching the world. Yet our engagement with the social is alienated to the extent that its power is lost, restrained, denuded, and destroyed against the poetically positive promise of people's progressive potential. Alienation is the experience of otherness, being on the outside, separated from what you make and do, from the act of making and doing, from yourself and your humanity, from other people and our society. To discuss alienation means to refer, implicitly or explicitly, to a critique, such that the understanding of alienation given by revolutionary romanticism is really humanist critique, and my explanation of the concept now foreshadows the more comprehensive and concrete critique of the next section. Having read Nietzsche since adolescence, Hegel's appeal to the spirit is what had attracted Lefebvre as a young *Philosophe*, seeking its revolution, although his 'encounter with Hegel marks the end of Lefebvre's idealism as he moved his focus onto Marx' (Shields 2004, 34). Lefebvrian humanism advances into a Nietzschean battle (rather than retreats into Heideggerian uncritical isolation) of life against death and spontaneity against order, in an expression of **collective enjoyment**. The dialectic is the core of how Hegel's estrangement and externalisation of the spirit must be overcome, although not through his systematised phenomenology of consciousness, but in Marx's historical materialism, informed by his early humanist writings on abstract labour's **movement contradicting man**.

7.1.1. Collective Enjoyment

Having introduced the concept of the collective subject in the chapter five, I now explore its relevance to alienation. Heidegger's focus on language ('the house of being'), especially poetic descriptions of his home and his hut (cf. Sharr 2006), could be the outline of a romantic. He asserts an ethic 'to safeguard and secure the existing bonds even if they hold human beings together ever so tenuously and merely for the present… What is needed in the present world crisis is less philosophy, but more attentiveness in thinking; less literature, *but more cultivation of the letter'* (1949, 46–47). However, his withdrawal 'into a quiet, inconspicuous life of the mind' (Crowe 2005, 161) to begin the 'literary invention of meaning' (Vandevelde 2013) prevents us from having knowledge of alienation and the means to overcome it. Lefebvre posits dialectically the permanent movement of being (i.e. becoming) as alienated and disalienated:

> There is in Heidegger, as in Hegel, the image of an original 'being' from which emanate, while dispersing, a multiplicity of beings [etres] ('beings [etants]'). Heidegger, more than Hegel, *emphasises the raison d'etre of each emanation, each dispersion*. *Is this why there is no theory of alienation in his work?* The notion of praxis makes it possible to situate alienations and dis-alienations in the real combats of men and man. But why should language, and not praxis, be the dwelling of Being, the place of revealing? And why language alone? Why not music or architecture, or any presence that is not alienated or alienating, reifying or reified? (*M*, 137, my emphasis)

He argues that the isolated subjectivity and idealism of a Heideggerian conception of becoming precludes its attachment to alienation (or disalienation), for each of us is lost in dreams about ourselves. If all we have is individual consciousness, how can we be estranged from it? It might have been somewhat unfair to dismiss the potential for Heidegger to grasp alienation. (cf. 'enframing' in Heidegger 1977, 332; Macqueen 2018, 8; Waite 2008) but the starting point is a broad rejection of Heidegger's subject as isolated in his own experience, and whose language is foreign to the next.

Rather, the emphatic legends of Nietzsche and the hypothesis of by Zarathustra of our fight against the eternal return: with infinite time and a finite number of events, events will recur again and again infinitely. Imagine: 'Fellow man! Your whole life, like a sandglass, will always be reversed and will ever run out again'. We must confront the alienating absurdity of this repetition. As Albert Camus described of the mythical king of Ephyra, sentenced to push a rock up a hill every day for all eternity: 'The struggle itself toward the heights is enough to fill a man's heart. One must imagine Sisyphus happy'. Not just a myth, but a metaphor of the drudgery of modern life and the 'prose of the world' (a Hegelian expression used by both surrealists and phenomenologists, not least

Merleau-Ponty), and finding freedom for a filled form of fun in its face. The joy of kicking a football, of celebrating a performance, or of the latest joke in the dressing room.

Indeed, happiness, enjoyment, is experienced against sadness, understood in contrast to deathly domination. It is not only the benchmark for Lefebvre, but a raw, true expression of subjectivity, knowledge, and the actual means of resistance: 'only the humiliated, the oppressed, the exploited… retain a vital, explosive energy, the energy of enjoyment – expended in festivals and revolutions' (*TAE*, 70). *Jouissance*, enjoyment, 'is merely a flash, a form of energy that is expended, wasted, destroying itself in the process' (*TAE*, 115). This description of the momentary feeling of positivity reaches out beyond insular subjectivity, in a revolutionary romantic expression of power: 'in order to extend the possible, it is necessary to proclaim and desire the impossible. Action and strategy consist in making possible tomorrow what is impossible today' (*SoC*, 36). Lefebvre thus gives an 'account of the moment's self-overcoming. It is an impossible but necessary leap. The very sensibility that feels the impossibility of its "dissatisfaction and incompleteness" is itself proof of the existence of a critical subject who, if they are not to be stifled and extinguished by that impossibility, must leap beyond it' (Grindon 2013, 219). Lefebvre was routinely criticised for a romantic nostalgia, but these are no 'lyrical flights of regret', longing for times past (*CELiii*, 94). Instead, he projects forward, looking towards the future and the possible, such that 'the solution was to be found at the horizon. We belonged to those who incessantly scrutinised its shape for new signs. We looked forwards and not backwards. To the question "What does it mean to think?" we answered not with existence but with the possible' (Hess 1988, 54, cited by Gromark 1999, 9). 'The art of living implies the end of alienation – and will contribute towards it' (*CELi*, 199).

7.1.2. Movement Contradicting Man

Hegel's phenomenology of self-conscious life (the spirit) was a key early example of German romanticism, yet his aesthetics were less an art of living than of thought. His philosophy of art was subject to rationality, and directed towards this logos, objectifying rather than expressing life and eros. The movement of Hegel's spirit was towards an Absolute Knowledge of becoming, thinking to formulate and systematise a complete mental logos of existence (e.g. 1998, 242–43). Alienation, as a form of estrangement and externalisation, was crucial to this work, this development of consciousness, because an as yet undeveloped consciousness (an 'unhappy' one unaware of its

subjectivity and objectivity, of its nature as spirit) is estranged, and because externalisation is the way to recognise the objective and subjectively overcome it: 'it is the nature of the spirit, of the idea, to alienate itself in order to find itself again. This movement is just what freedom is' (Hegel 1985, 79–80). Disalienation can only occur in the alienated, and improvement is learned from failure with the implication that 'it is the experience of alienation that drives consciousness to alter its understanding of itself and its object until it overcomes its alienation' (Rae 2012, 24). Hegel argues that consciousness must 'externalise itself, have itself as an object, so that it knows what it is' (Hegel 1985, 80). There is a political, perhaps revolutionary dimension to Hegel's philosophy in the linking of the concept of freedom to this process, that even a slave has power to shape her world while fulfilling the master's wishes (cf. Hegel 1998, 111–19). Yet this expression of Hegel's political theory nevertheless evacuates the political: there can be no oppression without involvement with the Other, but neither can there be freedom. The cycle of life and death between master and slave, and the revolution of the spirit that could free the slave from her bonds, can only occur in a social relation. Broadly speaking, the above critique of Heidegger's retreat to contemplation also applies to Hegel rationalising spirit. 'In Hegel, then, contradiction is nothing more than an implication of alienation' (*CELi*, 68). Yet Lefebvre found more potential in Hegel than he later read in Heidegger; especially in the concept of contradiction, of our thinking alienated in its estrangement from knowledge and in its externalisation of the object, giving the impetus of dialectic. So for Lefebvre, 'alienation may be defined philosophically as this single yet dual movement of objectification and externalisation – of realisation and derealisation (*CELi*, 71). We must ground these etherealities, testing them in concrete everyday life. 'If we accept the quotidian passively, we cannot apprehend it *qua* quotidian: we have to step back and get it into perspective' (*ELMW*, 27), but not by retreating to some conceptual world of ideas or subjective art.

Alienation's contradictory movement requires the material base given by Marx. Rather than contradiction from alienation alone, Marx's conception of 'alienation is no longer the absolute foundation of contradiction. On the contrary: alienation is defined as an aspect of contradiction and of becoming in man' (*CELi*, 69–70). Not the Nietzschean overman or Greek god, nor the mystified spirit of Hegel, but the total man of a humanist Marx. Lefebvre explains: 'What is the total man? Not physical, physiological, psychological, historical, economic or social exclusively or unilaterally; it is all of these and more, especially the sum of these elements of aspects; it is their

unity, their totality, their becoming' (quoted by Ross 1996, 226 n.4; Shields 1999, 49). The young Marx's conception of the alienation given by abstract labour, an 'abstraction which became true in practice' (cf. Stanek 2008), concealed 'by not considering the direct relationship between the worker (labour) and production' (Marx 1932, 30). Marx describes the sources of alienation as inherent to the conditions of capitalism (private property, political economy, and the division of labour and exchange), outlining four different manifestations of alienation given by the abstraction of this somewhat romantic notion of our efforts in the world.

Man is alienated from the act of production (Marx 1932, 31). The worker is not in control of her own activity, but under the capitalist's diktat, and so she is estranged from what she does, her acts of production. Turning her activity, everyday praxis, against her means she is estranged from herself in her everyday life. Man is thus also estranged from her product:

> Labour produces not only commodities; it produces itself and the worker as a *commodity*… that the object which labour produces – labour's product – confronts it as *something alien*, as a *power independent* of the producer. The product of labour is labour which has been embodied in an object, which has become material: it is the *objectification* of labour. Labour's realisation is its objectification. Under these economic conditions this realisation of labour appears as *loss of realisation* for the workers; objectification as *loss of the object and bondage to it*; appropriation as *estrangement,* as *alienation*. (Marx 1932, 28–29)

Given estrangement from the act of production, the worker is alienated from the results of that production: 'The product is after all but the summary of the activity, of production. If then the product of labour is alienation, production itself must be active alienation, the alienation of activity, the activity of alienation' (Marx 1932, 30). Herein lies a key strand of thought for Lefebvre: the juxtaposition of production and appropriation (as forms of objectification – making, producing objects – by the worker), with the latter referring here not to the capitalist's appropriation of the worker's surplus, but to the worker's appropriation of 'the external world, sensuous nature' (Marx 1932, 29). 'Alongside the scientific study of the relations of production which is the province of political economy, there is thus a place for a concrete study of *appropriation*: for a theory of needs' that 'enfolds philosophical concepts and makes them concrete' and 'renews philosophy by bringing it back into the sphere of real life and the everyday without allowing it to disappear within it' (*CELi*, 96). Appropriation is, for Lefebvre, the creation of oeuvres, *inhabiting* the world as a poet. Capitalism 'replaces the oeuvre, by the product' (*WoC*, 75). So the capitalist conditions of society (especially private property), deny us the opportunity to appropriate nature and create the world around us *for us*. 'It means that the life which [the worker] has conferred on the object confronts him as something hostile and alien' (Marx 1932, 29):

> *Appropriation* appears as *estrangement*, as *alienation*; and *alienation* appears as *appropriation*, *estrangement* as truly *becoming a citizen*… Having seen that in relation to the worker who *appropriates* nature by means of his labor, this appropriation appears as estrangement, his own spontaneous activity as activity for another and as activity of another, vitality as a sacrifice of life, production of the object as loss of the object to an alien power, to an *alien* person. (Marx 1932, 34)

Alienation from the act and outcome of production entails, third and fourth, the worker's alienation from her species-being and from other men. She is estranged from her conscious life, no longer free to think about her life, nor to make her life what she desires – those essentially human traits, 'an insensible being lacking all needs, just as he changes his activity into a pure abstraction from all activity' (Marx 1932, 50, cf. 31-32). She becomes an animal (*ibid.*, 30; quoted in *M*, 193), depressed spiritually and physically (Marx 1932, 4), reduced to a machine (*ibid.*, 6). Humanity is alienated from her species being means she is alienated from other members of the species i.e. 'man from man'. Relationships between humans are essential to humanity's species being. They are a fundamental principle of what it means to be human – to relate to other humans. 'The estrangement of man, and in fact every relationship in which man stands to himself, is realised and expressed only in the relationship in which a man stands to other men' (*ibid.*, 32). Lefebvre thus understands man as 'alienated by being temporarily dominated by a world that is "other" even though he himself gave birth to it, and so equally real' such that 'man remains an actual, living being who must overcome his alienation through "objective action"… a positive humanism, which has to transcend and unite' idealism and materialism (*DM*, 51–52). Together these four manifestations of alienation given by abstract labour reproduce the capitalist relations of society: wages create a new commodity – the worker – determined by supply and demand, valued as capital rather than human; the reproduction of the relations of private property drives society towards a focus on material possession of false, abstract, needs (not least money, especially to buy things), rather than authentic fulfilment of real needs given by our own expression of humanity.

Palloliitto's skill competitions (*taitokilpailut*) serve as a wonderfully isolated example of the romantic footballer's alienation from each of these aspects of abstract labour. These skill competitions for children and young teenagers have been held across the country since 1954, more recently on a local level by Palloliitto's district branches and now by clubs before a yearly national competition. They involve a series of tests (SPL 2020a) measured against the clock, distance from the kick, or proximity to empty target zones varying in value, involving for example: dribbling around poles and passing the ball of a bench; throwing the ball in the air and heading it; 'keepy-

uppies' – keeping the ball in the air using certain parts of the body (legs, thighs, head) in a set sequence; kicking a ball as far as possible, in a roughly forward direction. The results from these tests are collated into an index value, with the three best in each age group and gender at the local and national levels receive a gold, silver, or bronze medal. Meanwhile 'participants' at a local level are also classed as gold, silver, or bronze according to certain points thresholds. Results are published in order of achievement, although in younger age groups those outside the top six have previously been listed in alphabetical order. Are these test procedures football? Do they even measure capacity to perform in the match?

The participant is alienated from the creative act of play, almost forced to literally jump through the hoops of artificial tests involving objects (benches, tape measures) not seen in a football match. She is thus also alienated from the product, no longer a creative appropriation, of her performance. She is estranged from her species-being, no longer a player but a participant mechanically performing the test requirements. She is estranged from other men: passing to a bench and getting the ball back without a word, kicking the ball off into the distance with nobody to receive it, shooting into a goal unguarded by an opponent. Football is supposed to be a team sport. In fairness, Palloliitto has for a few years now understood the negativity surrounding these skill competitions (if not from the revolutionary romantic perspective of Marx or Lefebvre) and indeed the great potential for assessing performance that could be deployed in the national structure for the skill competitions. My company was previously involved in the project to renew the skill competition process. We recognise the need to abstract on some level (there is already an operational league structure of matches for assessing performance through full matches) and pushed for a concept of open 2v2 games, containing the minimum equal dyads of a teammate and opponent. Hopefully, the working group led by Panu Autio the players' union president and futsal national team captain who previously described these artificial tests as 'skill competitions without skill' (Autio 2016), will create a more authentic process that engages directly with players and the game.

7.2. FETISHISED CONCRETE ABSTRACTION

> *… there is a violence intrinsic to abstraction,* and to abstraction's practical (social) use: Abstraction passes for an 'absence' – as distinct from the concrete 'presence' of objects, of things. Nothing could be more false. For abstraction's *modus operandi* is devastation, destruction (even if such destruction may sometimes herald creation). Signs have something lethal about them – not by virtue of 'latent' or so-called unconscious forces, but, on the contrary, by virtue of the forced introduction of abstraction into nature. (*PoS*, 289)

Lefebvre found an everyday foundation in a Marxist critique that was otherwise focused on social relations in the sphere of political economy, on capital's caricature of concrete praxis subverted by the camera obscura of the dominant ideology, 'although the political drama was being acted out or decided in the higher spheres… it still had a "base" in matters relating to food, rationing, wages, the organisation or reorganisation of labour. A humble, everyday "base"' (*CELi*, 6). Lefebvre argues that 'in his early writings, particularly the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*, Marx had not yet fully developed his thought. It is there however, germinating, growing, becoming… historical and dialectical materialism *developed*' (*CELi*, 79), formative of his later work on the concrete critique of capital: 'the theory and the concept of alienation are integrated into the development of his thought while retaining their philosophical meaning. They become transformed… into the theory of fetishism (fetishism of commodities, money, capital)' (*ibid.*). As discussed in this section, Marx followed the dialectical approach begun in addressing abstract labour, as above, in order to critique, for example, the reification (abstract relationships made concrete) of wage labour, resulting from the fetishisation (abstract relationships treated as human relationships) of the commodity, and the dominance (exertion of primacy) of exchange value over use value. This move brought 'dialectical analysis close to the everyday; but the proletariat of his time was not yet immersed in the everyday. The honour of labour, the ethics of the trade, still veiled the triviality and humiliation of the everyday, which since then have borne down with their full weight on the working class' (*M*, 109). That domination and humiliation of the everyday was continuing in the second half of the last century, even in Marxist circles – perhaps especially in those circles led by the likes of Althusser and Castells, who emphasised the break between the young and mature Marx, relegating alienation to 'ideological' and instead turning the dialectic onto the quantitating power relations and isolating structures of society: they 'could not accept… the philosophical concept of alienation… had to be reductive, simplistic, schematic, dogmatic' (*CELi*, 53). Their reductive materialism ignored the quality and connection of what was going on (or what should be going on) at the base. 'Workers do not only have a life in the workplace, they have a social life, family life, political life; they have experiences outside the domain of labour' (Lefebvre 1988, 78). Instead of the radically reduced Marx of structuralism, Lefebvre found a wider conception of man and the social world than one restricted to the economic sphere, noting that Marx himself 'never limited the sphere of alienation to capitalism' (*CELi*, 62). This humanist critique of

alienation was explicit in those earlier *1844 Manuscripts* and at least implicit in much of his later work critiquing the dominance of concrete abstraction (not least in Capital's concretisation of the concepts of 'man' and 'humanity', cf. *ELMW*, 112).

Death, prose, narrowing, mystification, representation, fetishism, reification – I have kicked around a number of different terms in reference to alienation and abstraction. And these two concepts I have so far separated but must now bring back together (in the shape of Marx, young and old, and Lefebvre's dialectical relationship between the concrete, abstract, and lived). Alienation refers to the experience of such social relations: an estrangement, a divorce, between moments of the dialectic, between the worker, her labour, and her products, between the human and her humanity, and between each of us and each other. Abstraction is the tendency away from concrete experience, the killing of material subjectivity. Fetishism means treating the abstract values we ascribe to a thing or an idea as real, even human.

Lefebvre identifies three concrete types of abstraction involved in capital's fetishism, pursuing in particular the concretisation (reification) of its abstract concept of growth, through the fragmentation, homogenisation, and hierarchisation of space (*PoS*, 282; *SSW*, 212–16). These three abstracting processes are the mutually related breaking apart into isolated functions of disciplined knowledge, the standardisation of these atomised islands (not least through their submission to exchange on the market), and the ordering, structuring, and valuating of the world for profitable exploitation 'in the perspective of unlimited growth' (*SoC*, 113). This abstract logic of capitalist growth is concrete – 'commodities and money are real' (*PoS*, 27) – even as its abstracting force alienates subjective experience and stops the movement of becoming, killing it through 'the devastating conquest of the lived by the conceived, by abstraction' (Lefebvre 1980, 10; cf. Wilson 2013, esp. 365-367). 'The starting-point for this abstraction is not in the mind, but in the practical activity; the essential characteristics of sense-perception cannot be correctly deduced from an analysis of thought, but from an analysis of the productive activity and of the product. Abstraction is a practical power' (*DM*, 109). The violence of capitalist logic 'does not stem from some force intervening aside from rationality, outside or beyond it. Rather, *it manifests itself from the moment any action introduces the rational into the real*' (*PoS*, 289). The logic of this deathly domination is still material (and lived), and is hence concrete abstraction: 'abstract inasmuch as it has no existence save by virtue of the exchangeability of all its component parts, and concrete inasmuch as it is

socially real and as such localised' (*PoS*, 341–42). In this section, I explore the core fetishism of capital – of the commodity's **exchange value** – before opening up the definition of **ideology** to focus on fetishisms of such abstracting configurations.

7.2.1. Fetishism of the Exchange Value

In the first volume of *Capital*, Marx explained that in the commodity 'the social character of men's labour appears to them as an objective character stamped upon the product of that labour; because the relation of the producers to the sum total of their own labour is presented to them as a social relation, existing not between themselves, but between the products of their labour' (Marx 1887, 47). These commodities and this value relation that commodifies them, the money price we ascribe to things, have:

> absolutely no connection with their physical properties and with the material relations arising therefrom. *There it is a definite social relation between men, that assumes, in their eyes, the fantastic form of a relation between things*… the productions of the human brain appear as independent beings endowed with life, and entering into relation both with one another and the human race. So it is in the world of commodities with the products of men's hands. This I call the Fetishism which attaches itself to the products of labour, so soon as they are produced as commodities, and which is therefore inseparable from the production of commodities. (*ibid.*, 48, emphasis added)

The commodity is a fetish because we treat as real the abstract values we ascribe to it. It is primarily abstract, tending toward the form, but still essentially concrete and containing a content, produced by real labour for a particular use. Yet the commodity, like the labour that produced it, is determined by its abstract value on the market of exchange. Marx shows: 'As use values, commodities are, above all, of different qualities, but as exchange values they are merely different quantities, and consequently do not contain an atom of use value.' (*ibid.,* 28). 'The exchange value of commodities is expressed in the form of money, the universal equivalent through which qualitatively distinct-use values are rendered quantitatively commensurable' (Wilson 2013, 366). This is the break, the estrangement, alienation given by abstraction, the 'magic and necromancy' of capitalist relations of exchange.

The commodity, like money, capital, and other economic forms, are thus fetishised concrete abstractions (O'Kane 2018). By treating these abstract concepts as real, as relations between us, we fetishise them and reproduce them in concrete reality, reifying their conceptuality, materialising the ideal. 'Fetishism is both a mode of existence of the social reality, an actual mode of consciousness and human life, and an appearance or illusion of human activity' (*DM*, 81). It complements Marx's earlier work on alienation: 'The economic theory of Fetishism takes up again, raises to a higher

level and makes explicit the philosophical theory of alienation and the "reification" of the individual. His activity, or the product of his activity, appears before him as other, as his negation' (*DM*, 84). This negation is an abstraction, which 'pulverises' the material body and experiential spirit. Abstraction is the primacy of the abstract in the dialectic, the detachment within totality from the material and the lived, the fixation or blocking of the movement of becoming in a static representation of praxis rather than its fluid act. For Marx, 'In particular when "human life" is concerned, which the representations of praxis reduce to an abstract life' (*M*, 193, cf. 2009b, 268–69), the effect is for her abstract life's work to become alienated from nature and so herself to become alienated from her natural being, not to mention society. This force means that 'nature is effectively replaced by powerful and destructive abstractions' (*PoS*, 376), that produce a 'second nature' of capitalist logic. The 'terrorism' of advertising (*ELMW*, 106) and the 'bureaucratic society of controlled consumption' (*ELMW*, 68–109), are examples of specific modern techniques of abstracting social relation, fetishising concepts and quantifying the quality.

> Once launched on its existence the Commodity involves and envelops the social relations between living men. It develops, however, with its own laws and imposes its own consequences, and then men can enter into relations with one another only by way of products, through commodities and the market, through the currency and money. *Human relations seem to be nothing more than relations between things*. But this is far from being the case, or rather it is only partly true. In actual fact *the living relations between individuals in the different groups and between these groups themselves are made manifest by these relations between things*: in money relations and the exchange of products… The objectivity of the commodity, of the market and of money is both an appearance and a reality (*DM*, 80–81, emphasis added)

A global market defined by exchange value in the form of money and accessed through the products of abstract labour, surrendering the surplus value of the commodity to capital for a wage, subverting the 'irreducible and singular experience' of real things and the actual use of the work we make and do together.

> Exchange has conquered the world; or rather, shaped it… In it, the logic of the commodity – that is to say, of equivalence – joins general logic… in discourse and statements. In fact… as a system of equivalents the commodity comprises a logic; it determines a language that modifies and unifies – globalises… is closely bound up with the general language of quantification. [The] commodity-world… tends towards a sort of nothingness, through the abstraction of exchange, monetary signs, and the sign in general. But it never attains this limit. It is reinstated materially. (*CELiii*, 55–56)

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On sport, Lefebvre himself asks: what have sport's 'lofty ambitions achieved? A vast social organisation (commercialised or not) and a great and often magnificently spectacular *mise en scène* devoted to competitiveness' (*CELi*, 36). We need not get too philosophical to understand Finnish football's 'extremely large social problem that we are already forced to deal with' (Itkonen cited in Lempinen 2015). The almost €3000 a year required for a recreational 11-14 year old to play in

2012 rose to €5694 for the more competitive players (Puronaho 2014, 31). This amount includes a range of costs many of which are channelled through the team and club (Puronaho 2014, 13; Koski 1995; Väre 2008), which invoices parents for the monthly, yearly, and irregular payments that make up the vast majority of youth teams' budgets. Club membership and the Palloliitto player licence (the 'Game Pass'), for example, might be through the team or direct. There are different organisational structures regarding teams within clubs, but it is usually the team or age group collectively managing the vast majority of the costs of: coaching and training camps; participation in leagues and tournaments, Palloliitto-managed or otherwise (often abroad at significant expense cf. Ranta 2015); and the rental of facilities, especially football pitches, with companies maximising profits from their private facilities, often on lease or bought from the municipality, and the training slots on those municipal pitches that are still operated by at least Helsinki, formerly free, now costing money to youth and amateur teams. Equipment and clothing, for which the requirements differ significantly betweeen teams, is another significant cost on top of the monthly fee, with all the global brands playing their role (Adidas, Kappa, Nike, Jako, and Puma logos have adorned my teams' strips). With travel, insurance and medical care, and other costs also building up, some parents often struggle to meet the financial requirements with the result that their children excluded from the game. There is financial support available, often from the clubs themselves (having set up foundation funds for the purpose), from social services, and from charitable organisations, among other possibilities including more casual arrangements or the waiving of some fees (Väre 2008, 36). There are other ways into playing, like the free football programmes run by Ice Hearts, or the slots on Haapaniemi field for the local immigrant reception centre. However, these forms of support can often be conditional and outreach programmes tend not to relate to affiliated football. The public debate certainly does not suggest that they prevent the exclusion from the affiliated game due to its cost, despite the Nordic countries' relatively high incomes. As football sociologist Hannu Itkonen argues, 'some sports are already exclusive to the elite. Soon even middle class parents will not be able to afford it' (cited in Lempinen 2015). The 2016 boys football coach of the year, Tero Tainio, used his platform to appeal for more direct support from the state, warning that 'it won't be more than a few years before those playing here are only those who have the wealth to play' (cited in Laitinen 2016).

In the dialectical battle, the primacy of the exchange value of over the use value of

participation in youth football excludes people from playing the game, devaluing their humanity as unworthy of all that it can provide. Preventing people, young or not, good or bad, from participating as a player and fulfilling their dreams on the pitch because the price is too high is a major problem, and a major challenge to any egalitarian conception of football. Commodification and the primacy of the exchange value does not only exclude; it also radically alters the activity that it objectifies into an exchange value, thus penetrating the mode of participation in football that it puts a price on, transforming the game itself into the logic of a commodity and undermining the human relations that otherwise comprise a football team or match. Youth football becomes conceived as a service, purchased by parents who enter into a customer-provider relationship with clubs that encourages their attempts to influence operations. I enjoyed responding to the father who replaced the relationships between people with that of a financial transaction in saying *'we pay so the boy should play'*, despite his son failing to meet his obligations to his teammates by skipping training. I was, however, unable to prevent a different team's manager (a parent volunteer) from inserting an extra training session to the weekly schedule, unwanted by the players and adding to the tiring monotony of their training week, increasing the quantity but reducing the quality of the other sessions (she and other parents evaluated the amount they were paying and required the session to maintain value for money). Palloliitto's new strategy, in this context somewhat perversely under the mission 'Football for Everyone' ('*Jalkapallo jokaiselle*', SPL 2020b), discusses growing elite football's commercial value, but has barely a footnote concerning the rising cost of playing – 'Keeping the cost of the hobby in check requires that clubs have sources of income other than parents' wallets' (*ibid.*, 16) – and no proposed solution. The primacy of the exchange value also seeps into the conception of competition, as I discuss in the next section.

7.2.2. Fetishism of Ideology

The quantifying growth perspective of capitalism is the most dominant abstraction of modernity, but not the only one, and anyway abstraction is an inherent part of the dialectic (balanced by materialisation and life). Indeed, the development and deployment of abstract concepts is essential to any intellectual action and progress, to any logic, given that the act of thinking is to 'think the relationships between human beings and the universe… the separation and conjoining of forms and content' (cited by Kofman and Lebas 1996, 32). This movement and its 'solution is to be found in a

praxis' of the concrete abstract (*IM*, 193). Therefore, Lefebvre is 'not primarily concerned with the rejection of abstraction per se, but with understanding the relationships between dominant forms of abstraction and concrete social practices' (Butler 2016, 4), and I would add, experienced social life: 'there can be no pure abstraction. The abstract is also concrete, and the concrete… is also abstract. All that exists for us is the concrete abstract.' (*DM*, 88). I argue for a similar understanding of 'ideology', even if it is one of the most ideologically loaded concepts in political theory. Instead of a restrictive conception, whereby ideology is a pejorative – 'in all ideology men and their circumstances appear upside down as in a camera obscura' (Marx and Engels 1845) – I take an inclusive approach – 'ideas are not knocking at the gate of politics, supplicating for an entry ticket. They are inherently in and of the political' (Freeden 2012, 482). Thus, ideologies are the conceptual maps which guide thinking in the political world. They provide structured patterns of conceptual meaning, without which we are incapable of understanding the world and, consequently, of acting in it. Diverse ideologies compete over these patterns of meaning, as 'distinctive configurations of political concepts' which 'create specific conceptual patterns from a pool of indeterminate and unlimited combinations' (Freeden 1996, 4). Freeden's 'conceptual morphology' recognises the importance of emotion and poetry in modifying and applying the meaning given by ideological concepts (cf. Freeden 2013), although he has been more focused on the concept and its practical instantiation.

Taking this inclusive approach to ideology has some justification in Lefebvrian theory, where ideology is considered 'a system of meanings of spatial reality, a product of a "political strategy" that would impose their representations' (Busquet 2012, 1, 4). Pejorative claims still fit in the definition: 'It is the role of ideologies to secure the assent of the oppressed and exploited', contributing 'either immediately or "mediately" to the reproduction of the relations of production. Ideology is therefore inseparable from practice' (*SoM*, 76; *SoC*, 29). Indeed, Lefebvre did not believe that ideology forced *false* consciousness (as in, untrue) on the proletariat; instead, particular ideologies, especially those of the ruling class and city planners, forced them rather into *mystified* consciousness (as in, obscured). For Lefebvre, there is a plurality of ideologies: 'Bourgeois culture, like every ideology, has real content: it expresses and reflects something of the truth. The mystification lies in the presentation, use and fragmentation of that content' (*WoC*, 96). Taking on trust Andy Merrifield's interpretation of Lefebvre's 'La Conscience Mystifiée' (Guterman and

Lefebvre 1936), for it has still not been translated into English, we find a more nuanced understanding of truth than that provided by Marx. Lefebvre 'shattered the prevailing Marxist idea that working class consciousness had transparent access to reality, that it somehow reflected in its collective head what was really out there' (Merrifield 2006, 150). Thus, Lefebvre did not believe it possible to contain some objectively true, untainted reality in a conceptual configuration. There was no question of an absolute truth for Lefebvre in 'La Conscience Mystifiée': there was an inherent legitimacy to bourgeois ideas inasmuch as they were *their* ideas, and there was no basis to argue for the working class as thinking without their own ideologies. Indeed the working class needs an ideology, or 'rather… a theoretical understanding, as removed from ideology as possible, though such an "extrication" would only be a limit' (*SSW*, 150). Critique of ideologies should be based on the extent of their abstraction away from material conditions or experienced life and on its fetishism.

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Despite exclusion by price, there are 112,000 affiliated youth footballers. But what is the game they are playing? Palloliitto's centenary publication *Dear Football* asked if Finnish football is a 'profession or hobby' (Kanerva 2008, 15), striking at the heart of the tension between football as competitive (a profession, a game to win) and recreational (a hobby, a game to just enjoy) that now as ever cuts through the Finnish game. Many clubs, for example, are explicitly internally divided between *kilpa* (competitive) and *harraste* (recreational) teams, further polarising the aspects of the game, even when in most cases all the teams are competitive and all recreational, certainly in the younger age groups. The ideological pursuit of competitive success has been more associated with the exchange value than has the ideology of recreation I discussed in the previous section. Indeed one solution to the problem of high costs I outlined has been to reach higher levels of achievement, if not for the prize money then for the chance to get a transfer fee for a player (or at least a sell-on fee when a former player is sold on by the club, often elsewhere in Europe, that he was released to, in an arrangement steadily growing in popularity and regulated by UEFA – my former club has three players now at its German parent club and will see a financial benefit if one makes the next step forward). The elite game places a market value on victory, for example in prize money, and on players' ability to achieve it, as in salaries and bonuses – thus even the competitive dimension of playing, participation itself, is commodified in its dogmatic conception as exchange value: not a

game, but a match. However, the ideological dimensions of competition and recreation also bear exploration without reference to exchange value.

On the one hand: the elite development path, characterised by the under 17 boys national team head coach, Erkka V. Lehtola, as 'the best with the best against the best' (Lehtola and SPL 2014), is geared towards the production of high performing players capable of competing in other European leagues and on the international level. Kalevi Heinilä characterised the growing focus on competitiveness as a change 'from a humanistic ethos to an ethos of effectiveness in sport' (2012 [1982]). On the other hand, firmly embedded in that humanistic ethos, is the global 'Sport for All' drive for mass participation in recreational football: Palloliitto's 'Kaikki Pelaa' (Everybody Plays) programme, a broad societal push across the daily lives of home, school, and the club, which guaranteed the right of children and youths to a supportive and safe football hobby of games and play in different circumstances around the year, and aimed to ease access to the sport (SPL 1999). Kaikki Pelaa attempted to define the mode of participation in youth football through all clubs in the country, from the specification of football's Laws of the Game (like pitch and ball size) up to the values like equality. Initiated in 1999 (SPL), begun the next year, and implemented through the evolving Youth Activities Line and yearly 'Kaikki Pelaa rules' (e.g. SPL 2018), the Kaikki Pelaa programme is vastly different from its first inception, even 'no longer really in existence' on the field (Meri 2018). As Erkko Meri, youth coach and chairman of the independent Junior Football Coaches association, notes, the programme 'brings different, even strong thoughts to the mind of most football people'. As well as Lehtola (cf. 2009), prominent youth coaches like Juha Valla have criticised the programme: 'The original Kaikki Pelaa programme text reminded more of a religious script than a practical coaching programme… a Moomin-world [*muumimaailma*]. … If all Finland's junior clubs followed [the recommendations], it would have ensured the end of competitive sport in football in Finland' (quoted in Meri 2018). Issues like the banning of grouping players under age 14 by ability (*tasoryhmät*), the low number of matches, or even some strange interpretations of the Fair Play campaign (the lack of contesting for some drop-balls still bemuses me, and the green card, rather than yellow or red), refer to the perceived attack on competition that Kaikki Pelaa represents to many. Perhaps causing the most friction was the solution of enforced player rotation during matches to the problem of players of lower ability not getting to play in matches (because their coach wanted to win): 'that everyone gets to play and the substitute bench

will become history' (Dufva 2004, 8). I have heard multiple stories of parents with a stopwatch and clipboard tallying up time on the field to the exact minute and angrily thrusting the record in the coach's face when the difference is perceived as too great, and one about a young player having the game of his life being forced to come off. Ideological subscription to the abstract clock rather than feeling the role in the team, the reactionary fetish of a perverse conception of equality and the absence of competition and competitiveness. This fetish in combination with the absurd constructed experience, isolated from the rest of the team, the surrealist's 'mysteries of Paris' transported to the Palloliitto head office. It is sad that a clearly well-intentioned representation of recreation became so dogmatic that it lost the meaning. This polarisation of these two conceptions, in a fetishistic act that many ideologies enforce, abstracts beyond the reality and away from the field – there will always be a match for the team and player to win, lose, or draw, and there will always be a substitutes' bench, even if there are not enough players for substitutes.

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So abstraction gives a lived experience of alienation, alongside other alienating aspects of being human (human becoming). Capital's fetishes are the latest, and most dominant, unprecedented in their penetration of everyday life. 'Alienation is always created anew, and living is the process of engagement with the conditions of existence; *living is the practice of overcoming alienation* to reach a deeper level of understanding, of engagement and of reconciliation' (Shields 1999, 43). That should be the focus: on the human, not the current concept! Not everything that alienates is abstraction; they are not the same, but they cannot be separated: 'at the most general – basic – level, Lefebvre's elaboration of alienation deals with the "will to abstract" manifest in capitalist-industrial rationality' (Goonewardena 2008, 128). These pervasive processes of concrete abstraction must be submitted to a critique. If the unity of 'society and the human… no longer in opposition, but integrated in a whole, each retaining its specificity… is to be fully developed [then] a painstaking and extensive critical analysis of the categories [that refer to society and the human] in every sphere of art and science will therefore be needed. In philosophy as well.' (*CELi*, 75). Elden explains that '"abstractions are very concrete" and the supreme methodological principle of dialectics is that "the truth is always concrete". It follows that humanism is only a part of Marxism when its idealism is balanced by materialism. Marxism refuses both a metaphysics exterior to individuals *and* the privileging of the isolated individual consciousness' (Elden 2004a, 21). Poiesis spurring praxis is

mediated between each of us and the social. Following this Marxist humanism and his other romantic influences as I described in the previous section of this chapter, Lefebvre grounded this critique beyond the respective orthodox scopes of structuralist political economy and abstract analytical concepts (and their forceful flows of corrupt capital and exclusive exchanges of tenuous terminological language). Lefebvre allows us to appraise the everyday, the broader and richer aspect of society – its base – found not only in work but at home and leisure, and in the connections by which we move between them, encouraging us to release our creative power and move to football and metaphor: to nature and city as the game of our lifetimes, to theatre and the theatre of the match, to our own bodies and the superorganism of the football team, the family of the club, and the home dressing room, primed for kick-off. Knowledge, of victory and defeat, of our critique of the world, is accomplished by how we play, how we live it (we critique the world by how we live it), and we need radical change if we do not want to lose another day in our alienated, abstracted, and above all dominated lives. We must appropriate – how? We must occupy – what? The city and space.

7.3. ABSTRACT SPACE AND UTOPIA

> Social relationships have a surface area. This includes the most abstract relationships, those arising from commodities and the market, contracts or quasi contracts among "agents" on a global scale. The urban phenomenon and urban space, seen from this point of view, can be considered 'concrete abstractions' (*UR*, 86–87)

The primacy of the abstract in the dialectic is instantiated in space as the primacy of representations of space. Overpowering spatial practice and representational spaces, abstraction is made concrete and experienced in space. I describe these concrete abstractions as abstract space, concentrated in the city, and deployed by capital against the human. Representations of space are *conceived* spaces, which always remain in the abstract (yet touch material sense and live experienced sensuousness) and which are constructed in part by ideology. Here, the representation is the abstract image, the idea. Space, especially the vulnerable city, is the arena of abstraction, the 'terrain on which various strategies clash' (*UR*, 87) and in which 'scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers… identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived' (*PoS*, 38). We engage in representations of space through our thoughts, ideas, beliefs, opinions, and values, imposing order through conceptual meaning. What we are dealing with is not detached, isolated representations, but 'politically directed' concepts and ideas given coherent form in an ideology.

As Soja explains, the order over this conflict 'is constituted via control over knowledge, signs, and codes: over the means of deciphering spatial practice and hence over the production of spatial knowledge' (Soja 1996, 67). However, with order comes imposition, and the nature of conceived space as the 'dominant space in any society' (*PoS*, 38) illuminates this site of ideological struggle, or, if not yet active struggle, then the top-down process of oppression.

In this way, capitalist 'domination is consolidated in a physical locale', the city, in the abstract space 'occupied by… an absolute system of exchange and exchange value, of the logical thing and the logic of things' (*UR*, 170, 167–68). Fetishised abstract space detaches us from nature, from the physical and the lived dimensions of space, from ourselves and our own thought:

> In face of this fetishised abstraction, 'users' spontaneously turn themselves, their presence, their 'lived experience' and their bodies into abstractions too. Fetishised abstract space thus gives rise to two practical abstractions: 'users' who cannot recognise themselves within it, and a thought which cannot conceive of adopting a critical stance towards it. (*PoS*, 93)

To explain abstract space, Lefebvre proffers a number of dialectical oppositions (cf. Jameson, Shields), including quality v quantity, use value v exchange value, and local v global, each of which I have touched upon throughout this chapter and that relate directly to the homogenising, fragmenting, and hierarchising processes of abstraction I introduced earlier. Now I address these **abstracting** contradictions in the spatial terms of the city, before imagining their overcoming in the diversity of experimental **utopias** established by laying claim to a right to the city 'based upon the elimination of antagonisms that find their expression in segregation; it must involve differences and be defined by these differences' (*ELMW*, 190). The exclusion of difference given by urban homogeneity, fragmentation, and hierarchisation means 'to exclude the urban from groups, classes, individuals… also to exclude them from civilisation, if not from society itself. The *right to the city* legitimates the refusal to allow oneself to be removed from urban reality by a discriminatory and segregative organisation' (*WoC*, 195) and legitimates the inclusive self-organisation of **autogestion**.

7.3.1. Abstract Space

We can understand the quantification of space as the measurement of space in units and its manipulation according to the falsely claimed objectivity of the statistician, programmer, accountant, or technocratic urban planner. Enacting a specialised ideology that is closed and partial results in our 'trend towards homogeneity and towards the elimination of the body, which has had to seek refuge in art' (*PoS*, 111) – humanity finding wholesomeness in the qualitative space of

'concrete extension where unreplenished energies run out, where distance is measured in terms of fatigue or in terms of time needed for activity' (*PoS*, 191). Yet qualitative space is by no means safe, suffering from the constant quantifying gaze of capital, seeking a greater margin in the production of space for exchange on the market. Indeed, the prime quantity by which space is measured and manipulated is money, the exchange value of space and time, giving us 'the opposition between use value (the city and urban life) and exchange value (spaces bought and sold, the consumption of products, goods, places and signs)' (*WoC*, 86). Use value refers to the city as 'an oeuvre, closer to a work of art than to a simple material product. If there is production of the city, and social relations in the city, it is a production and reproduction of human beings by human beings' (*WoC*, 101). The use value of space refers to the qualitative needs of humanity 'for creative activity, for the *oeuvre* (not only of products and consumable material goods), of the need for information, symbolism, the imaginary and play… a fundamental desire of which play, sexuality, physical activities such as sport, creative activity, art and knowledge are particular expressions and *moments*' (*WoC*, 147). Maximising the abstract exchange value of space over its human use value is how 'capitalism has found itself able to attenuate (if not resolve) its internal contradictions for a century... it has succeeded in achieving "growth"… *by occupying space, by producing a space*' (*SoC*, 21 n.1). The 'specificity' of urban space is thus the mediating connection of the global (controlled by forces of capitalism) and the local experiences of humanity. This structure of totality frames social existence, uniting a balanced dialectic. However, 'Abstract space is both of these at once without any possibility of synthesis' (Shields 1999, 180), fixing us in an urban limbo between local and global, of fetishisation, losing the subject in a conceived space somewhere between and somehow separate from, variously, lived and perceived space, our experience and physics, the individual singularity and the social universal, desire and needs, our everyday life and humanity's open destiny, among others.

7.3.2. Utopia

To escape from the urban's dialectical limbo of mimetic and illusory fixity and get back to reality is the revolution – or rather the revolutions, of economics, politics, culture, and of everyday life. It is to imagine utopia – the impossible *no-place* that is the 'lynchpin' of Lefebvre's project (Coleman 2013, 355) – in the reality of everyday life. As Goonewardena describes in reference to what he

sees as Lefebvre's main contribution to Marxism, 'there can be no revolution without an urban revolution, no urban revolution without a revolution, and neither without a revolution of everyday life' (2008, 131). The escapological act is not away from or belittling the real, like the surrealists or transcendental utopians, but the concrete creation of an imagined ideal and 'virtual object', a romantic engagement with the possible-impossible, 'constantly subjected to critique and referring to a problematic derived from the real, that is a feedback mechanism' (Kofman and Lebas 1996, 15) 'rooted in everyday life and space' (Pinder 2015, 32). I outline the nature of Lefebvre's utopian thinking as a subjective-objective imagined possibility that expresses the right to the city.

The process of utopian thinking, for Lefebvre, is the method of transduction, and utopia is thus a means to critique and imagine a new human society, 'that of urban society and the human as *oeuvre* in this society which would be an oeuvre and not a product' (*WoC*, 149). The utopianism of transduction: 'To conceive of the impossible is to embrace the entire field of possibilities' (Lefebvre, quoted in Gromark 1999, 1). Utopia is thus the urban expression of humanist critique that 'attempts to open a path to the possible, to explore and delineate a landscape that is not merely part of the "real", the accomplished, occupied by existing social, political and economic forces. It is a *utopian* critique because it steps back from the real without, however, losing sight of it' (*UR*, 6–7). Lefebvre thus envisaged our concrete-abstract creation of 'experimental utopias' in thinking about the city as oeuvre, not of some ideal form, but as a mode of theoretical practice in the real, a 'place of the possible'. 'There is no theory without utopia. Otherwise, a person is content to record what he sees before his eyes; he doesn't go too far-he keeps his eyes fixed on so-called reality' (*DM*, 178–79). Lefebvre encourages us to 'urbanise revolutionary theory and revolutionise urban theory' (quoted by Goonewardena et al. 2008a, i), to go beyond critical urban studies to a critical theory of society in 'an important contribution not only to urban theory but, if appropriately understood, to theory more generally' (Molotch 1993, 887). The social products of space and utopia, society and theory, are thus critiqued in their potentiality of human understanding and expression.

Of humanity, Lefebvre asks 'Who is not a utopian today? Only narrowly specialised practitioners working to order without the slightest critical examination of stipulated norms and constraints' (*WoC*, 151). The utopian project is one in which we are all involved, through our daily experiences of subjectivity and objectivity, imagining what tomorrow could be like.

Given that 'our knowledge of [space] must be expected to reproduce and expound the process of production. The "object" of interest must be expected to shift from things in space to the actual production of space' (*PoS*, 36–37). The collective expression of such critical analysis is our cry and demand of the right to the city, our appropriation of the urban for our use, fulfilling not just our needs but facilitating our enjoyment, the 'hidden, unfulfilled, highly subjective *desires*' (Gromark 2013, 247), such that space is 'produced not only by material and economic practices but also on the level of conceptual, aesthetic, symbolic, and phantasmic appropriation' (Stanek 2011b, 149) rather than only reproducing abstract forms in an automated inescapability of alienating concepts, mimetic signs, and immaterial logics. The utopian action of urban humanist critique is the life of imagining:

> a different society, a different mode of production, where social practice would be governed by different conceptual determinations. No doubt this project could be explicitly formulated... But it is far from certain that such an approach would allow us to make forecasts or to generate what are referred to as 'concrete' proposals. The project would still remain an abstract one. Though opposed to the abstraction of the dominant space, it would not transcend that space. (*PoS*, 419)

'Why?' Lefebvre continues, 'Because the road of the "concrete" leads via active theoretical and practical negation, via counter-projects or counter-plans. And hence via an active and massive intervention on the part of the "interested parties"'. These interested parties are brought together in the city, the complexity of which is given in the diverse foundationality of everyday life and intricate structure of the world, and in its close enough to infinite possible definition now and in the future. As I described earlier, the empty signifier of the urban form means it is radically open, ready to be filled with new content, not 'static or homogenous, but… dynamic and, in a dialectical sense, contradictory resources for dramatic change as for perpetuation of an oppressive status quo' (Cunningham 2010, 273–74). So while these interested parties are brought together, the urban form also separates them in the dialectical relationship between abstraction and utopia. The interested parties are thus those who suffer in today's world. They deserve much more than 'a simple visiting right or… a return to traditional cities', but rather 'a transformed and renewed right to urban life... Only the working class can become the agent, the social carrier or support of this realisation' (*WoC*, 158).

> Only the proletariat can invest its social and political activity in the realisation of urban society… It therefore has the capacity to produce a new humanism, different from the old liberal humanism which is ending its course – of *urban man* for whom and by whom the city and his own daily life it become *oeuvre*, *appropriation*, use value (and not exchange value), by using all the means of science, art, technology and the domination over material nature. (*WoC*, 180)

The right to the city, our right to act on our imagination of utopia, to the participation in the

production of space and appropriation of its use, is fraught with conceptual difficulties, even containing the potential for ideological exploitation when considering the implications of rights based on citizenship in a mirror image of the radical politics of the inhabitant that Lefebvre proposes (cf. e.g. Purcell 2002). I cautiously define it as the inclusive refusal of exclusion from the city, spoken against the urban's homogenisation, fragmentation, and hierarchisation, and instead encouraging difference, collectivity, and holarchy (equality in totality, as against top-down hierarchy, cf. Koestler 1969). The meaning of these three concepts should be understood concretely and together (i.e. dialectically): as a decontested conception of the concept of rights that retains its essential contestability by overcoming its internal contradictions in reality as it is deployed in the fight against the capitalist's and others' contradictory forces of abstraction – an open battle of the possible urban that defines the relevance of utopia, imagining and trying to live this radical democracy. An open definition it may be, and certainly an ideological one that is more comfortable handling the 'irreducibility of the individual experience' (cf. e.g. Stanek 2011, ix) than its global implications and generalisability, but nevertheless it is given by the concrete spatial expressions of power in our everyday lives – in particular our power to change it:

> The idea of a new life is at once realistic and illusory – and hence neither true nor false. What is true is that the preconditions for a different life have already been created, and that that other life is thus on the cards… A total revolution – material, economic, social, political, psychic, cultural, erotic, etc. – seems to be in the offing, as though already immanent to the present. To change life, however, we must first change space. Absolute revolution is our self-image and our mirage – as seen through the mirror of absolute (political) space. (*PoS*, 189-190)

7.3.3. Autogestion

> Each time a social group (generally the productive workers) refuses to accept passively its conditions of existence, of life, or of survival, each time such a group forces itself not only to understand but to master its own conditions of existence, autogestion is occurring. This broad but precise definition shows autogestion to be a highly diversified practice that concerns businesses as well as territorial units, cities, and regions… all aspects of social life; it implies the strengthening of all associative ties, that is to say, of civil society… toward a practical struggle that is always reborn with failures and setbacks…it carries within itself the possibility of its generalisation and radicalisation; but at the same time it reveals and crystallises the contradictions of society before it. Once opened, this optimal and maximal perspective entails the disruption of society as a whole, the metamorphosis of life. (*SSW*, 135, 147)

Autogestion is our collective implementation of concrete strategies toward our appropriation of the oeuvre. If we countenance the clarion call to space with the concept of time and examine the possible-impossible 'political' aspect in concrete reality, then, together in our everyday lives, we can play our role in becoming this utopia. This 'transformation of society presupposes a collective ownership and management of space founded on the permanent participation of the "interested parties", with their multiple, varied and even contradictory interests' (*PoS*, 422). The 'withering

away of the state' (cf. *SSW*, 69-94; Marx, Engels, Lenin) is a key part of this transformation, not towards anarchy, but to the 'generalised self-management' of the workers (*SSW*, 14) – the 'radicalised and generalised… grassroots democratic control' of *autogestion* (*SSW*, 148; cf. §1). 'Only through autogestion can the members of a free association take control over their own life, in such a way that it becomes their oeuvre. This is also called appropriation, de-alienation' (*SSW*, 150). Autogestion is 'derived from the democratic ideal' but it 'is not merely an ideal… at every moment, at every favourable opportunity, it enters into practice… a fundamental experience of our age' (*SSW*, 148). The meaning of this spontaneous but long-term process is ambiguous and not a 'magic formula': 'autogestion never presents itself with the clarity and the obviousness of a technical and purely rational operation… does not provide a model, does not trace a line. It points to a way, and thus to a strategy' (*SSW*, 134-5), defined by the moments when we come together and reject society as it stands. The impact of Lefebvre's discussion of social movements is seen from May 1968 to Occupy Wall Street. Such action to collectively and creatively appropriate space is clearly ideological in its utopian images, but Lefebvre's utopia is not primarily a representation, and instead an action of the imagination, meaning that '*autogestion*, today, is the *opening* toward the *possible*… that theory and practice, at any given moment and in any given conjuncture, attempt the impossible in order to prepare, through concerted thought and action, for the disconcerting moment, the conjuncture that would change this impossible into possibility' (*SSW*, 150–1).

This fight for an imagined future brings together the key themes of this thesis (a dialectic of humanism, critique, and the urban) and the core concepts of this chapter (metaphilosophy and the dialectics of alienation in everyday life). Autogestion is the new total man (of society) and her self-managed dialectical act, whose movement is 'the only form of movement, of efficacious contestation, of effective development, in such a society. Without it, there is only growth without development' (*SSW*, 149).

> Autogestion is born and reborn at the heart of a contradictory society, but one that tends… toward a global integration and a highly structured cohesiveness… born of these contradictions, as a tendency to resolve them and overcome them…Autogestion therefore tends to resolve the totality of various contradictions by sublating them into a new totality (*ibid.*)

Autogestion's humanism of the interested parties 'tends to restore primacy to use value. It "is" the use value of human beings in their practical relations' (*SSW*, 148) as the 'imagination and creativity' that begins the transformation of society (*SSW*, 194). It has 'critical import' that is 'crucial and decisive. Once someone conceives of autogestion, once one thinks its generalisation,

one radically contests the existing order, from the world of the commodity and the power of money to the power of the State' (*SSW*, 148). The urbanity of autogestion is its radical expression of the right to city. Autogestion as a creative and critical practice that expresses our right to the city is thus the dialectical unity of a concrete, if imagined, utopia that brings together the metaphilosophical concepts of poiesis and praxis and sets them against the mimetic, alienating contradictions, the fetishistic abstractions of the world as we experience and overcome them in our daily lives.

8. CONCLUSIONS

I had two core interlinked goals in this thesis: to articulate and justify a coherent and loyal Lefebvrian approach to sport using the concrete case of Finnish football and so to point possible paths for improving Finnish football using Lefebvrian theory.

I have explored in these pages the humanism, critique, and urbanism in Lefebvre's physical, mental, and lived dialectic, engaging with the influences of Heidegger, Nietzsche, Hegel, and, most prominently, Marx on his expansive oeuvre and the arising concepts of: totality and the residuality of everyday life held together in a collective subjectivity; globalisation and the neoliberal and neomanagerial strategies of the state; metaphilosophy, transformative praxis, the bodily truth of poietic creativity, and mimetic repetition (as not always an empty copy); time, its moments, and its linear and cyclical rhythms; alienation and the romantic revolution against the fetishised concrete abstractions of the exchange value, ideologies (with a more inclusive definition of ideology than in which Lefebvre has usually been understood), and space, as well as the latter's reimagining in utopias. Beyond these pages I also explored more fully concepts including the right to the city, time, and the production of space, as well as various Lefebvrian methods, especially rhythmanalysis, although I struggled to locate this methodological approach in a critique whose scope was anything broader than of myself. That struggle is also evident in these pages, which even slip into uncritiqued subjective experience on occasion (except that that statement alone demonstrates that there is a self-critique and a willingness to transform and improve). There is also undoubtedly a propensity for the concept throughout this thesis, and less engagement with the concrete empirics of material reality, in a problem which, despite his claims to the contrary, Lefebvre encountered too. But the challenge is anyway in the movement from words to deeds, and to our lives on the Finnish football field.

Thus Finnish football is not hidden in these pages, and some of its features and problems have been uncovered. Beyond my own romantic experiences with the *kuningaspeli*, I have described the general capitalist mode of Finnish football under globalisation and the neoliberal and

neomanagerial strategies of the Finnish national and municipal governments and sports associations. In governmental terms, the democracy of the new Palloliitto structure remains to be seen. In both broader and more concrete terms, I have also explored the alienation arising from the abstractions of the game by the Palloliitto-run 'skill competitions', the logic of the exchange value, and from both sides of the ideological clash between sport as achievement and the sport-for-all *Kaikki Pelaa* programme. I set the task for all people involved in football to live a new praxis and imagine the possible futures of a disalienated game.

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Beyond those two goals, this thesis project was my embodied struggle towards achieving my personal objectives of developing, winning, and enjoying. I have certainly developed, opening myself up to one of the most interesting social theorists who was still alive after I was born and gaining a new appreciation for creative power (even if I have long held a positive conception of humanity and its potential), a renewed appreciation for Marxist praxis (understood in this humanist vein), and respect from a political theoretical perspective for the field of urban studies and the concepts of time, space, and the urban (which I had previously 'relegated' to geography in arrogance or sidelined to history in indifference) thus vindicating my mistake eight years ago in signing up to an urban studies master's programme that I thought was for social policy. Above all, I now think dialectically, listening for conflicting rhythms and engaging with the oppositions between the material, ideal, and the lived. I have also immensely enjoyed this project and do not regret for a moment the struggle it has involved: I only wish I had more time and more space. As for winning, the achievement value of this project is left to the reader and is judged by the impact it has on them in their lives: for all the creative energy I have expended, I would probably take a 0-0 draw.

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